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ESSAYS

LITURGICAL AND HISTORICAL



STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY

# ESSAYS

LITURGICAL AND HISTORICAL

BY

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Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

London : 68 Haymarket, S.W.

1917

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## PREFACE

**I**T is perhaps natural that a man should wish to preserve as far as he can pieces of work over which he has spent much time and pains, and not to let them disappear in the abyss of periodical literature where they are hard to find under his name, but are overwhelmed by the enormous amount of contemporary work.

I have felt particularly in preparing this volume the sensation which I have been told that many men feel in the progress of a busy literary life: the sight of a proof becomes odious to them. But while feeling this I have been so fortunate as to receive from Mr. T. Gambier Parry help, gratitude for which can be but faintly expressed: without it the task of seeing these essays passed through the press could not have been taken in hand. I would also acknowledge that the index is his work. The Rev. George Horner has also read the proofs through, and I am indebted to him for several suggestions.

It has been my endeavour to verify the quotations in the proof, but every now and then, perhaps owing to depletion of literary staffs caused by the war, I have been unable to find the volume from which I have quoted. I may also plead advancing age and the fatigue and want of energy which it brings with it. For this I beg the reader's indulgence, should he find imperfections in the references.

J. W. L.

OXFORD,

*May 3, 1917*

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# ESSAYS

## LITURGICAL AND HISTORICAL

### *Notes on the Structure of Collects*

#### I

**I**T has been known for some years past that the Western Collect, in a great number of cases, consists of four parts, or some add a fifth, which are these: (i) the invocation; (ii) a sentence relative to the invocation; (iii) the main petition; and (iv) the purpose or end for which the petition is made. The fifth part is a pleading of the merits of Christ in those cases in which the collect is addressed to the Eternal Father.

About thirty years ago<sup>1</sup> I pointed out in a little note a resemblance to this structure of the Western Collect in the prayer of the Apostles before the election of St. Matthias. 'Thou, Lord,' is the invocation; 'which knowest the hearts of all *men*,' is the relative sentence; 'shew whether of these two thou

<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, May 21, 1884, p. 773: The Western Collect.

hast chosen,' is the main petition ; ' that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place ' is the purpose or end.

It may be worth while to note that this prayer of the Apostles has been adapted as a collect *pro Ordinandis* at Soissons in 1745, thus :

Tu, Domine, qui corda nosti omnium, ostende quos elegeris accipere locum sancti ministerii ; et, ut sanctificeris in iis qui appropinquant ad te, abundantes gratiae tuae divitias super eos effunde ; Per Dominum.<sup>1</sup>

It may be asked, Is this kind of prayer only Christian, or is it pre-Christian ?

Something with the structure of the Western Collect does appear to have been used by the Jews. There is the prayer of Nehemiah recorded in the first chapter of the second book of the Maccabees,<sup>2</sup> said during the sacrifice, and it is described as follows :

And the priests made a prayer whilst the sacrifice was consuming, *I say*, both the priests, and all *the*

<sup>1</sup> *Missale Suessionense* (F. de FitzJames, eps.), Paris, Coignard, 1745 : FERIA Quarta Quatuor Temporum Quadragesimae.

<sup>2</sup> According to the articles in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, the date of the Maccabees and Wisdom is not commonly thought to be later than A.D. 40. So that for the present purpose we may treat these books as pre-Christian.

*rest*, Jonathan beginning, and the rest answering thereunto, as Neemias did. And the prayer was after this manner (*vv.* 23, 24).

Then the prayer itself follows, which may be conveniently broken up into the four parts of a collect, and the structure may be shown better if the Vulgate be used rather than the authorized version, for Latin is the native air of the collect.

i. (*Invocation.*) Domine Deus, omnium creator, terribilis et fortis, iustus et misericors, qui solus es bonus rex, solus praestans, solus iustus et omnipotens et aeternus,

ii. (*Ground of Petition.*) qui liberas Israel de omni malo, qui fecisti patres electos, et sanctificasti eos :

iii. (*Petition.*) accipe sacrificium pro universo populo tuo Israel, et custodi partem tuam et sanctifica : congrega dispersionem nostram, libera eos qui serviunt gentibus, et contemptos et abominatos respice :

iv. (*Purpose.*) ut sciant gentes quia tu es Deus noster, afflige opprimentes nos et contumeliam facientes in superbia, constitue populum tuum in loco sancto tuo, sicut dixit Moyses.

The ninth chapter of the book called the Wisdom of Solomon has a prayer which shows an approach to the Western Collect, having three of the four parts needful to make a complete collect ; but it is like the prayer of Nehe-

miah given above, too long when compared with the terseness of the Western Collect, which has, most unjustly, been described as ‘ casting forth his ice like morsels.’ It is the self-restraint, the absence of enthusiasm, and of all appeal to the emotions which is the charm of the Western Collect, and separates it off from the verbosity and diffuseness of the Ancient-Gallican or Oriental prayer. Yet there is another prayer in the fourth chapter of the first book of the Maccabees in which a tendency to much the same structure may be noticed as in the prayer of Nehemiah.

- i. Benedictus es Salvator Israel,
- ii. qui contrivisti impetum potentis in manu servi tui David, et tradidisti castra alienigenarum in manu Ionathae filii Saul et armigeri eius :
- iii. conclude exercitum istum in manu populi tui Israel, et confundantur in exercitu suo et equitibus : da illis formidinem, et tabefac audaciam virtutis eorum, et commoveantur contritione sua : deice illos gladio diligentium te :
- iv. ut collaudent te omnes qui noverunt nomen tuum in hymnis (*v.* 30-*v.* 33).

This in all likelihood is not a ritual prayer, though composed after the example of that of Nehemiah. Such private prayers may be found in Christian times. For in the Acts of St.

Theodora, which claim to be of A.D. 304, the following prayer, showing the four parts in structure, may be found :

Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, adiuua me, et libera me de meritorio hoc, qui adiuuisti Petrum cum esset in carcere ; qui eduxisti eum sine contumelia, educ me sine macula hinc : ut omnes uideant, quoniam tua sum ancilla.<sup>1</sup>

One of the widest known collects composed in the Middle Ages is the Collect for the office of Corpus Christi, which however is not addressed to the Eternal Father but to the Son.

Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili passionis tue memoriam reliquisti tribue quaesumus ita nos corporis et sanguinis tui sacra mysteria venerari ut redemptionis tue fructum in nobis iugiter sentiamus. Qui vivis.

The office of Corpus Christi is almost universally ascribed to St. Thomas of Aquinum.

A less looked for author of a collect may be discovered in Ulrych Zwingli :

Da hub Ulrych Zwingli am bâtten (dann vff den 19. Brach monat ist die erst Lection in Chor zumm grossen münster gehalten.) vnd sprach Omnipotens sempiterne et misericors Deus, cuius verbum est lucerna pedibus nostris et lumen semi-

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Antverp, 1675 : Aprilis t. iii. p. 574, col. i.

tarum nostrarum, aperi et illumina mentes nostras ut oracula tua pure et sancte intelligamus et in illud quod intellexerimus transformemur, quo maiestati tuae nulla ex parte displiceamus: per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum. *Amen.*<sup>1</sup>

Private prayers composed after the same model may be found at the end of some Meditations of John Malder,<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Antwerp, and in Dr. Johnson's prayers, scattered here and there, of which perhaps the best example is the prayer that he wrote on beginning the *Rambler*.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Cowley, with his invariable kindness, has pointed out to me certain Blessings or Praises of God in the Morning Service of the Jewish congregations which contain some elements of the collect such as the invocation and the relative sentence: and, indeed, in one of these there are the four parts of the collect, thus:

i. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe,

ii. who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and commanded us to occupy ourselves with the words of the Law.

<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Bullenger's *Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. Hottinger and Vögel, Frauenfeld, Bepel, 1838. Bd. i. § 160 [that is, June, 1524]. Brach monat is the month of June.

<sup>2</sup> Ioannes Malderus, *Meditationes Theologicae*, Antwerp (typ. Plantin), 1630.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Prayers and Meditations*, ed. George Strahan, London, Cadell, 1796, p. 8.

iii. Make pleasant, therefore, we beseech thee, O Lord our God, the words of thy Law in our mouth and in the mouth of thy people, the house of Israel,

iv. so that we with our offspring and the offspring of thy people, the house of Israel, may all know thy Name and learn thy Law. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who teachest the Law to thy people Israel.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Cowley tells me that this part of the service is sometimes considered ancient ; there is another instance of a prayer like a collect in this same book in the Prayer in the House of Mourning, which shows all the four parts of a collect as well as its shortness :

i. O Lord,

ii. who healest the broken-hearted and bindest up their wounds,

iii. grant thy consolation unto the mourners : put into their hearts the fear and love of thee ;

iv. that they may serve thee with a perfect heart, and let their latter end be peace. Amen.<sup>2</sup>

Of the recent origin of this service there is no question, for we are told in the preface that 'the Prayers in the House of Mourning,' etc., 'are the same that have been in use for some

<sup>1</sup> *The authorized daily prayer book of the United Hebrew congregations of the British Empire*, eighth edition, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1908, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

years past, having been drawn up by the late Chief Rabbi.'

## II

Some years ago the late Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. W. E. Collins, asked me to help him with the service at his enthronization; and I came across in *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* a prayer which reminded me of that at the end of the consecration of Bishops in the Book of Common Prayer, and which has been there since the days of Cranmer. It is an expansion, as I venture to think, of the prayer *Concede quaesumus*,<sup>1</sup> which was of course well known to Cranmer, for it is in the Sarum Missal, the collect of a mass *pro episcopo*.<sup>2</sup> It may be found in other medieval missals, as at Hereford,<sup>3</sup> and also at Westminster, in a mass for the abbot.<sup>4</sup>

It is my own fault, I have no doubt, but I do not find that the resemblance between these two

<sup>1</sup> William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, London, Pickering, 1847, vol. iii. p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> J. Wickham Legg, *Sarum Missal*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> *Missale . . . Ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, Leeds, 1874, p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, fasc. ii. col. 1152.

prayers has been pointed out in many of our more usual books of instruction on the Common Prayer.<sup>1</sup> This, then, must be my excuse for printing in parallel columns the two prayers. So every one may thus be enabled to form a judgment for himself, whether they be alike or not.

MISSALE SARUM  
(ed. Clarendon Press,  
p. 397).

EDWARD VI's FIRST  
ORDINAL  
(Consecration of Bishops.)

Concede quaesumus Domine famulo tuo episcopo nostro

Most merciful Father, we beseech thee to send down upon this thy servant thy heavenly blessing ; and so endue him with thy holy Spirit

ut praedicando et exercendo quae recta sunt exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruat subditorum

that he preaching thy Word, may not only be earnest to reprove, beseech, and rebuke with all patience and doctrine ; but also may be to such as believe an wholesome example, in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity, and purity ;

[2 Tim. iv. 2 : 1 Tim. iv. 12]

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, in Dr. F. E. Brightman's *English Rite*, Rivingtons, London, 1915, vol. ii. p. 1016.

et aeternae remunerationis mercedem a te piissimo pastore percipiat.

[2 Tim. iv. 7, 8]

Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. *Amen.*

that, faithfully fulfilling his course, at the latter day he may receive the crown of righteousness laid up by the Lord the righteous Judge, who liveth and reigneth one God with the Father and Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*

### III

When I was working in the University Library at Würzburg in May 1911 I found a collect in the Würzburg breviary which reminded me of the Christmas collect in the Book of Common Prayer. The same collect is in a fifteenth-century edition as well as in that of 1518, and it is said at None on Christmas Day. It appeared afterwards that Dr. Neale had noticed some prayer of the same kind ; for he says : ' We have noted something like our own Collect in more than one German Missal : a fact which ought to be known to English liturgical scholars.' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology*, etc., London, 1863, p. 52.

It is quite possible that the Würzburg Collect given below may be that which Dr. Neale noticed as like to the collect in the Book of Common Prayer. It is indeed to be found in other liturgical books : for instance, at None on Christmas Day in the Eichstädt breviary of 1525 and the Constanz breviary of 1561 : also at None on Christmas Day in the breviary of Uzès of 1493 ; and in the Lyons diurnal of 1738 ; at Sext on Christmas Day in the Pampeluna breviary of 1562 ; in the list of Christmas collects in the breviary of the canons of St. Augustine at Coimbra of 1531, fo. 103.

From its appearance in so many different parts of Europe, it will be gathered that the collect is old ; and by the aid of Mr. H. A. Wilson's invaluable Index to the Roman Sacramentaries it will be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary as the collect of a mass for Christmas.<sup>1</sup> It occurs also, as Mr. Wilson points out, in a list of collects for use at Christmas in the Gregorian Sacramentary.<sup>2</sup>

A likeness of the collect in the Gelasian Sacramentary to that in the Prayer Book had been

<sup>1</sup> L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748, t. i. col. 495.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, t. ii. col. 11.

noticed by Mr. Henry Bailey as long ago as 1847<sup>1</sup>; but his observation does not seem to have been remarked by many. Cranmer was not likely to have been acquainted with manuscripts of the Gelasian or the Gregorian Sacramentary; whereas it is quite possible that in his expeditions to Germany he may have found a German breviary with this collect, and taken from it the idea of 'adoption' and 'grace,' which he afterwards planted into the latter part of the Edwardine collect. Nor does the early part of the collect seem so dissimilar that it might not have been suggested by the Latin collect. But in this I do not expect to find that all the world agrees with me. It will be enough if I have pointed out a possible source in the German collect for the origin which had escaped Dr. Neale, and which possible source he desired should be known to Englishmen.

I will now give the two collects printed side by side :

WÜRZBURG BREVIARY  
1518

(ad nonam in die na-  
tivitatis Domini).

FIRST BOOK of ED-  
WARD VI.

(Christmas Day at the  
second communion.)

<sup>1</sup> Henry Bailey, *Rituale Anglo-Catholicum*, London, J. W. Parker, 1847, p. 113.

Omnipotens sempiterne  
Deus : qui hunc diem  
per incarnationem  
Verbi tui et partum  
beatae Mariae Vir-  
ginis consecrasti :  
da populis tuis in hac  
celebritate <sup>v</sup> consor-  
tium : ut qui tua  
gratia sunt redempti,  
tua sunt adoptione  
securi. Per eundem.

Almighty God which hast  
given us thy only-be-  
gotten Son to take our  
nature upon him and  
this day to be born of a  
pure Virgin :  
Grant that we being re-  
generate and made thy  
children by adoption  
and grace, may daily be  
renewed by thy Holy  
Spirit. Through the  
same, &c.

*Criticism of the Roman Liturgy seen in  
Roman Catholic Authors*<sup>1</sup>

THE purpose of this essay is not controversy with Roman Catholics. It is rather a warning to those members of the Church of England who view everything in the Roman rite through a fog of adulation ; who can see nothing approaching to a fault in anything connected with the Church of Rome. In the eighteenth century our English forefathers borrowed freely from Roman books of devotion, which they altered and adapted ; but they did not go to the lengths that of late years some among us have gone in imitation of Roman services and Roman practices. The first in the nineteenth century that from the Anglican side approached the Roman with Byzantine prostrations was the Rev. William George Ward, then a Fellow of Balliol, who more than seventy

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter the material supplied for an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* of January 1916 has been worked up again.

years ago brought out his famous work, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*. He did not long remain with us, but soon became more Ultramontane than the Ultramontanes. But his teaching remained. Since his time we have had among us a certain set of men who have professed to look upon everything done in the Church of Rome as endowed with the highest possible excellence. Roman customs have come to be regarded as the model for a Christian community, and to be followed blindly. Even the liturgy, which to an educated eye has grave faults in the Missal, Breviary, and *Rituale*, has been held up to us as 'the norm.' Scholars have been reproached for making a study of the Eastern liturgies. Whatever is Roman has been called Catholic with great diligence. There has also arisen a curious subjective fancy, which cannot be brought to book, that there is an unerring liturgical instinct in the Church of Rome throughout the ages, of which a prominent example now seems to be that Low Mass is no longer said in a loud voice, but in a tone only audible to the celebrant himself: this is not universally the practice in Italy or elsewhere on the Continent, whatever may be the custom amongst English Roman Catholics.

That is to say, common prayer has ceased at Low Mass, for common prayer must be vocal prayer that can be joined in by all present. According to these theorists, the history of the Roman rite is one continuous and uninterrupted progress from glory to glory. Some have gone so far as to believe that there has been a divine control guiding in the right path whatever has been done in the Roman liturgy.

Perhaps, then, it may be a useful thing, for those who wish to follow facts rather than their own fancies, to lay before them the opinions of well-known and distinguished Roman Catholic authors who have dealt with the failings of their own liturgy, not in a fractious or peevish humour, but with the aim of keeping the facts of history in view and dealing with them fairly and justly. We shall find such writers not only in England, but in France, and even in Rome itself. If it be possible, an attempt will be made to follow their example on this occasion.

## I. THE MASS BOOK, ESPECIALLY THE CANON

In this chapter will, first of all, be considered a document that is to the pious Roman Catholic as well as to every lover of ecclesiastical antiquity a most sacred prayer and venerable monument, the Canon of the Mass. Its substance seems to be most ancient, and it contains indeed very beautiful petitions, of which one of the most touching appears to be the Second *Memento*, that for the Faithful Departed. Yet both the language and structure, even the grammar of the Canon, have of late years been exposed to searching criticism, not from the Modernist school in the Church of Rome, but from scholars of unimpeachable orthodoxy; such as Cardinal Billot, S.J.; Mr. Edmund Bishop; Monseigneur Duchesne; Dr. Adrian Fortescue; Dom Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B., and others. Mr. Edmund Bishop, one of the first liturgical scholars of our time, criticizes the technical language of the Canon in an important passage which may be found in the Appendix to the *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, edited by Dom R. H. Connolly in 1909, and printed

in *Cambridge Texts and Studies*.<sup>1</sup> It is as follows :

The very simplicity of the invocation 'Quam oblationem' in the Roman Canon is in accord with the almost embarrassing simplicity, or even it would seem want of technical exactness in suggestion, found in details of that document ;—a matter which did not escape those acute, eminently able, and most interesting writers, the great Anglican Divines of the seventeenth century.

Neither has the side open to criticism escaped an 'eminently capable and resourceful' member of the Society of Jesus ; for in another extract following immediately is quoted Father Billot, S.J., as he was then, now a Cardinal ; he finds difficulties in the interpretation of the Canon of a serious kind. Mr. Bishop in a note to this passage says, alluding to the difficulties felt by the Anglican writers of the seventeenth century in the interpretation of the Canon :

As, for instance, 'omnium circumstantium . . . qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis' . . . 'ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat' . . . The whole clause 'Supra quae propitio,' etc. . . . 'Iube haec perferri,' etc. . . . 'Per quem haec omnia Domine.' . . . That the difficulties raised by those writers are not wholly to be attributed to the controversial

<sup>1</sup> Vol. viii. No. I, p. 136.

spirit that may have animated them, but must have some basis of reality in the text itself, I gather from the emphatic statement of the eminently capable and resourceful Father L. Billot, now for some years an oracle in the Gregorian University in Rome, that unless a certain method of interpretation advocated by him be adopted these difficulties are as good as insoluble: "Nam et ista (*i.e.* the 'Supra quae,' etc., and 'Iube haec,' etc.) et alia multa quae nobis obijciunt haeretici, quantum essent inextricabilia extra principia hactenus declarata,' etc.

It has been said above that even the grammar of the Canon has not escaped assault. Dr. Adrian Fortescue (the quotations under his name that follow are taken from his work *The Mass*, ed. of 1912<sup>1</sup>; a book appearing with the approval of Cardinal Bourne in the 'Westminster Library') is inclined to offer explanations of this kind:

The form: 'Communicantes et memoriam venerantes' is difficult. 'Communicantes' means 'in communion with,' a quite beautiful insistence on our union with the Saints in one body. . . . But why these participles? No finite verb follows (except in a dependent clause). They must be taken as finite verbs. One can make the phrase very bad Latin by understanding 'sumus.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Longmans, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Fortescue, *The Mass*, Longmans, 1912, p. 332.

Many years ago I was going over the Canon with the late Monsignor Ceriani, the Prefect of the Ambrosiana at Milan, and he pointed out that in his opinion 'Communicantes' was a Semitic construction. This seems one of the best of the explanations that are now in vogue. An Anglican friend has suggested that *Communicantes* qualifies the noun to which *qui tibi offerunt* is the relative. One of the highest authorities on Latin in this country has assured me that he can find nothing wrong with the grammar of *Communicantes*.

Putting aside details of language and grammar, the structure of the whole prayer has been thought by eminent Roman Catholic liturgists to show marks of a complete rearrangement, or even dislocation and shortening, of the different clauses ; in which process the Canon has suffered very severely. Some think *Te igitur* is wholly out of its place in the present mass-book. Dom Fernand Cabrol, the Abbot of the Benedictines from Solesmes settled at Farnborough, and editor of the large *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie et de Liturgie*, which is now coming out, writes thus under the word *Canon* :

If we talk of the present state of the Roman Canon there is no doubt that it begins at *Te igitur*.

The preface is sharply divided from it and has quite a different character. *Te igitur*, in spite of the resumptive force of *igitur*, has so little connexion with the prayer before it, that not a few liturgists, as will be seen later on, have not scrupled to separate it in its origin from the preface and to put it back after the first *Memento* or even after the Anamnesis. Other liturgists perceive between the preface and *Te igitur* an hiatus caused by the absence of *Vere Sanctus* which joins on the preface to the Canon in the Gallican liturgies.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Fortescue lets us know what the trouble is in the present state of the Canon. It has deflected from the type set out in the Eastern rites. Roman as he is, yet he holds that a Christian liturgy must conform in its chief features with the Oriental liturgies ; and when it does not, then difficulties arise. He regards it as a fault when the Roman Canon does not follow the type of the Oriental liturgies, which invoke the Holy Ghost to come down and consecrate the sacred gifts.

The chief peculiarities and the greatest difficulties are the absence of any invocation of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the oblation and the order of the various elements of the Canon. This last is the

<sup>1</sup> F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris, Letouzey, 1907, t. ii. col. 1849, sub voce *Canon*.

great question of all. It seems clear to anyone who examines our Canon that its order has been somehow dislocated. There is an absence of logical sequence in the elements of this prayer that can hardly fail to strike one, especially if we compare it with the Antiochene and Alexandrine Anaphoras. The Canon is indeed full of difficulties. There is the prayer : *Supplices te rogamus* that both by its place and its form so plainly suggests the ghost of an Invocation with all the essential part left out. And there is the tangle of the great Intercession. . . . It seems impossible that this dislocated Intercession can be the original form.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it will be understood that the Prayer Book is not alone in containing an Eucharistic order that has undergone dislocation in its central portion. That 'the Canon is indeed full of difficulties' appears to be the opinion largely accepted by learned Roman Catholics who have dealt with this point of late.

Further, speaking of the conjectural reconstructions of the old Mass, attempts to recover it as it was before the days of St. Gregory the Great, Dr. Fortescue says :

We may accept as admitted on all sides that there has been such a recasting. It is in the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

posed reconstructions and as to the date of the recasting that theories differ.<sup>1</sup>

Monseigneur Duchesne is one of the best known in England of the foreign writers on liturgy, and the following translation of his comments on the clauses of the Canon is taken from Mrs. McClure's version of his *Origines du Culte chrétien*, published by S.P.C.K. with the author's permission. They deserve attention.

[*Te igitur*] All this part of the Canon corresponds, on the whole, with the recitation of the diptychs prescribed in the Gallican and Eastern liturgies, but which are placed in these liturgies before the beginning of the Preface. This latter disposition may seem the more natural one, and we may perhaps admit that the former is not altogether primitive.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we are told that a certain part of the Canon is now not altogether in its natural place, inasmuch as that position is unlike what it holds in the Old-Gallican and Eastern liturgies. So little is the Roman rite regarded by some Roman Catholic scholars as 'the norm.'

[*Supra quae*] This prayer is far from exhibiting the precision of the Greek formularies, in which

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 1910, p. 180.

there is a specific mention of the grace prayed for, that is, the intervention of the Holy Spirit to effect the transformation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. . . . But whilst the Greek liturgies use here clear and simple terms, the Roman liturgy embodies its meaning in symbolical forms.<sup>1</sup>

Monseigneur Duchesne regards this clause as the Roman epiclesis. It is certainly obscure enough. The difficulty has been felt for centuries. No less a person than Innocent III noticed it. He says :

These words [*Iube haec perferri*, etc.] are of such depth that the mind of man is hardly able to enter into them.<sup>2</sup>

This Pope died in 1216, and his book was most likely written before the end of the twelfth century. But Florus of Lyons who lived in the middle of the ninth century had already said much the same thing ; for he asks :

Who is there sufficient to understand these words of mystery, so deep, so wonderful and astonishing ? Who can worthily say anything of such ? They are rather to be respected and feared than discussed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. v. cap. v.

<sup>3</sup> Florus Lugdunensis, *De expositione missae*, § 66.

And he adds that St. Gregory the Great speaks of the mystery in terms as mysterious.<sup>1</sup>

To resume the comments of Monseigneur Duchesne.

[Second *Memento*] It is certain that this formulary has been much curtailed. . . . After this prayer . . . *largitor admitte, per Christum Dominum nostrum* there is apparently a *hiatus*.<sup>2</sup>

Later on the same writer speaks of a *hiatus* before Communion.

The *hiatus* which appears here in the Roman Mass must have been occasioned by the removal of the *Pater noster* to another place. The *hiatus* is at the present time filled up by the private prayers of the priest.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Fortescue is a vigorous writer who does not conceal his meaning behind hints and suggestions. We may pursue his remarks on the Canon as we have done those of Monseigneur Duchesne.

*Te igitur* now begins the Roman Canon. . . . It certainly does not seem that the *igitur* can be explained in its present place. The prayer has somewhat the appearance of a form composed from two others. The first half (to 'sacrificia illibata') asks

<sup>1</sup> See Gregory the Great, *Dialog.*, lib. iv. cap. lviii.

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Page 186 note.

God to accept and bless the offering ; the second abruptly begins the Intercession.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of the prayer *Supra quae* Dr. Fortescue tells us that here

We come to the root of the dislocation of the Canon. We have seen various explanations why the dislocation took place (especially Buchwald, p. 152, and Drews, p. 164). Whatever explanation may be preferred, it seems certain that here we have a text rearranged later, probably only fragmentary.<sup>2</sup>

. . . . .

The *Commemoratio pro defunctis* follows abruptly with no connexion with what has gone before. It is simply the continuation of the Intercession that we left unfinished after the *Communicantes*. It seems impossible to doubt that originally it followed that prayer, as in all other rites the memory of the dead follows that of the living.<sup>3</sup>

. . . . .

The list of Saints in *Nobis quoque* seems puzzling. We have already had such a list in *Communicantes*.<sup>4</sup>

Then as to the place of the Lord's Prayer in the Mass and the change made by St. Gregory. Dr. Fortescue thinks it 'clear' that before St. Gregory the Lord's Prayer was not said till after Communion.

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 355.

What chiefly concerns us here is the light Gregory's words throw on the position of the Lord's prayer. It seems clear that before his time it was not said over the Blessed Sacrament (therefore after the Communion), that he moved it to its present place (*mox post precem*) for the reason he gives.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Fortescue is not wanting in criticism of the ceremonies which now accompany the Canon. He doubts the value of the Secret recitation of that Prayer. He tells us that an inaudible Canon is not primitive. Indeed the practice of saying aloud the eucharistic and baptismal prayer was warmly commended by Justinian, who gives excellent reasons from Scripture for the practice.<sup>2</sup>

All the Canon (except its ekphonesis at the end) is said silently. This is already in *Ordo Rom.* II ; it has been so ever since. It is difficult to say when that custom began or what was its original reason. Undoubtedly during the first three centuries the people heard the consecration-prayer. The fact that the old Roman offertory-prayers are called Secrets because they are not heard shows that there was a time when this was the special note of them alone.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Justinian, *Novell.* 137, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

Examining the reason given that it is done to shield the sacred text from the vulgar, Dr. Fortescue remarks that

it is not easy to see why a silent prayer should be more reverent than one heard, the vulgar are already supposed to be excluded, the faithful who will receive Communion are surely not unworthy to hear the consecration, though they do not join in the priestly prayer. . . . Once more, a man who could receive Communion could hear any prayer.

Genuflexions during the Recital of the Institution did not definitely make their appearance in the Roman Missal until the Reform of Pius V in 1570. The absence of such genuflexions in no way signified a want of belief in the Real Presence before 1570. In the same way, marks of respect were often wanting to the Reserved Sacrament. In the Middle Ages, says Mr. Edmund Bishop,

the Blessed Sacrament reserved was commonly treated with a kind of indifference which at present would be considered to be of the nature of 'irreverence,' I will not say indignity. But the question of 'reverence' or 'irreverence' in these matters is one much more difficult to handle than some who deal with it with confident touch at all recognize; little realizing how entirely subjective are their appreciations, and how much the ideas even of persons

external to the Roman Communion are really determined by practices and usages that are purely post-Tridentine or at most can be traced back to a type of devotionalism developed in Germany in the century, or almost the decades, immediately preceding the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

As to the elevation during the Recital of the Institution Dr. Fortescue has a word of warning.

It is true that this mediaeval ceremony of the elevation has tended to become a new centre of gravity for the Mass. It is possible to exaggerate its importance. A rite unknown till the XIIth century cannot be of first importance in any liturgy. We must teach our people that the essence of the Mass is not the elevation, but consecration and communion.<sup>2</sup>

Note the importance given to communion. So to Dom Fernand Cabrol, Offertory, Consecration, Communion, are the three chief parts of the Mass.<sup>3</sup>

Nor does Dr. Fortescue like the abundance of shrill ringings with the little bell during mass.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Bishop, *History of the Christian Altar*, p. 12. (Reprinted from *The Downside Review*, July 1905.)

<sup>2</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> F. Cabrol, *Origines liturgiques*, Paris, 1906, pp. 365-370.

These two ringings (at the Sanctus and elevation) are the only ones demanded by the rubrics. An indefinite number of others have grown up, especially in France, where they love the bell. So you may hear it as the celebrant makes the sign of the cross at the beginning, at the offertory, at the *Hanc igitur*, at 'omnis honor et gloria,' at 'Domine non sum dignus.' There is no authority for any of these; nor does a perpetual tinkling add to the dignity of Mass. Moreover at High Mass no bell at all is required, though its use is tolerated. The singing and obvious ceremonies make the order of the service quite plain without the bell. At Rome itself there is no bell at High Mass.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Fortescue adds in a note that the practice of ringing a bell as a warning for the people to come up to the communion-rails

is commonly justified as necessary so that people may know when to come for Holy Communion. But we could conceivably instruct our people sufficiently that they could follow the Mass without that. When we hear Confessions we do not ring a bell before giving absolution.

Speaking of the practice of saying the Secret collect (*Secreta*) after the Offertory in a low voice so as not to be heard by the people, Dr. Fortescue warns us that

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

As soon as a liturgy begins to have two simultaneous actions or sets of prayers, one by the celebrant in silence at the altar and at the same time another by the deacon or choir aloud in the body of the church, there is the danger of dislocation, that one of the two actions may go ahead and outstrip the other, to the destruction of all concord.<sup>1</sup>

We suffer from such practices as these in the Church of England to-day, introduced especially at the Offertory with a view it is said of 'saving time.' The choir sings a hymn when the alms are being collected, while the priest, in defiance of the rubric, places the bread and wine upon the Holy Table, the attention of the faithful being distracted by three different actions. A similar practice in the Church of Rome, that of singing *Benedictus qui venit* after the Consecration, seems now frowned upon by the Roman authorities.

The practice of waiting till after the Consecration and then singing: 'Benedictus qui venit,' etc.—once common—is not tolerated by the Vatican Gradual.<sup>2</sup>

We are here tempted by Dr. Fortescue to leave the text of the Canon itself and speak of

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 323.

some of the practices in the Missal which lend themselves to criticism.

A strange piece of obscurantism persists in the Roman rite at the blessing of the incense, in the obstinate retention of the name of Michael instead of Gabriel.

The blessing of the incense has a curious allusion to St. Michael 'Stans a dextris altaris incensi.' It seems obviously to refer to Luke i. 11-19 ['an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense,' and at v. 19, 'I am Gabriel'] where the angel is St. Gabriel. A great many mediaeval missals have Gabriel here; it is at least probable that the name has been changed by mistake.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Fortescue tells us in a note that 'people have approached the Congregation of Rites to have Gabriel substituted for Michael, but in vain (S.C.R., 25 Sept., 1705).'

An appeal to antiquity does not encourage the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. It is only a presumed following of our Blessed Lord at the Last Supper.

For many centuries the Roman Church has used Azyme (unleavened bread) at Mass.

Although the Roman custom has the best authority

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

possible, since (supposing that the last supper was the Passover supper) our Lord certainly used azyme, it does not seem that it comes from the first age. Rather it appears that at Rome too leavened bread was used originally. Azyme was a later thought, to reproduce more exactly what our Lord did.<sup>1</sup>

Unless there was a principle of using azyme, certainly ordinary bread would have been taken. There seems no doubt that it was so. In the first place there are no texts at all really in favour of azyme. All the earlier writers, in West and East, speak of the bread as the ordinary kind, which, then as now, was leavened.<sup>2</sup>

To leave the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass and to speak of the criticism which certain Roman Catholic writers have been led to make upon some of the variable parts of the Missal.

First in one of the rites of Holy Week, the blessing of the paschal candle by the Deacon, which begins with *Exultet iam*, there is a phrase which has been complained of, but is still in the Roman Missal of to-day :

O certe necessarium Adae peccatum, quod Christi morte deletum est ! O felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> *Missale Romanum . . . Leonis xiii. recognitum*, Desclée, 1911, 80, p. 194.

The thought that the sin of Adam was necessary because it was taken away by the great price of the death of Christ, and that the fault was happy in needing so great a Redeemer, is surely offensive to pious ears, if not worthy of a more severe condemnation. Accordingly Udalricus, a monk of Cluny in the eleventh century, tells us that his abbot, most likely then St. Hugh of Cluny, had done exceeding well in causing these words to be struck out of *Exultet*, and forbidding them any longer to be said.<sup>1</sup> How wide the opinions of the monks of Cluny had spread may be judged by the list which Dom Edmund Martène gives of manuscripts before St. Hugh in which the words are not found.<sup>2</sup>

Clichtoveus, writing before the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation, of which he was a vigilant opponent, says plainly that the words are not only false in what they say but are impious, not far removed from blasphemy, and unworthy to appear in sacred rites.<sup>3</sup> Yet they

<sup>1</sup> Udalricus, *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, lib. i. cap. xiv. (Migne, *P.L.*, cxlix. 663.)

<sup>2</sup> Edm. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, t. iii. lib. iv. cap. xxiv. § vi. (Antverpiae, de la Bry, 1737, t. iii. col. 409.)

<sup>3</sup> Jud. Clichtoveus, *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum*, Paris, Stephan, 1516, fo. 108a.

were kept in the Missal at the time of the Pian reform in 1570, and have been there since. It is true that some journalists look upon them with delight, and praise them for their poetical character. But liturgy does not exist for the purpose of suggesting poetical ideas, but of worthily aiding the faithful to join in the worship of Almighty God.

Some strange expressions still remain in the 'Offertory Anthem of the Mass for the dead in the Roman Missal. The text of the anthem is as follows :

Domine Iesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum: sed signifer sanctus Michael repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam.<sup>1</sup>

The diligent J. B. Thiers has collected together the opinions of distinguished theologians, such as Cardinal Bellarmine, Theophilus Raynaud, Dominic Soto, and others, who have endeavoured to explain the difficulties involved in the use of this prayer after the fate of the dead man has

<sup>1</sup> See the first of the *Missae pro defunctis* in *Missale Romanum* . . . *Leonis xiii. auctoritate recognitum*, Desclée, 1911, p. 94.\*

been decided for all eternity.<sup>1</sup> He confesses that the prayers of the Church for the departed are full of difficulty. It seems as if prayer were here made for the deliverance of the soul from the pains of hell; and it is only by giving a non-natural interpretation to the word 'hell' and making it equivalent to 'purgatory' that an orthodox meaning can be read into this anthem.

The version which appears in a Roman Catholic English Prayer Book, printed in 1763, is quite close to the original. It is :

Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the flames of hell, and from the deep pit. Deliver them from the lion's mouth, lest hell swallow them, lest they fall into darkness: and let the standard bearer St. Michael bring them into thy holy light: which thou promisedst of old to Abraham and his posterity.<sup>2</sup>

This prayer has been the subject of abundant criticism. It is chiefly open to objection from the place and time at which it is now used. If modified and taken as a prayer to be said

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Baptiste Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions qui regardent les Sacremens*, 4th edition, Avignon, Chambeau, 1777, t. iii. pp. 141-160, chap. x.

<sup>2</sup> *The Divine Office for the Use of the Laity*, no place for printer's name, 1763, vol. i. p. ccii.

by the bedside of a single sick man just as his soul is departing, it cannot so greatly be found fault with. But said at the time where it has now been said for many hundred years, it is suggestive of the opinion that the souls of the faithful departed are in hell itself, and may be freed from these torments by the prayers of the faithful. An opinion which is by no means sound divinity.

When speaking of the office for the dead in the Church of Rome it may not be amiss to say something of what appears to be particular to the Roman *Rituale* in the burial of bishops and priests. Durandus, writing in the thirteenth century, takes it for granted that all will be buried with the head to the west and the feet to the east.<sup>1</sup> But at the end of the fifteenth century a change seems to have been brought about by one John Burckard, Master of the Ceremonies to Alexander the Sixth, and an important man about the Papal Court. In his diary he tells us that at the funeral of the Bishop-elect of Conza he found the authorities of the Aracaeli had placed the body in what

<sup>1</sup> Debet autem quis sic sepeliri, ut capite ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem. (Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, lib. vii. cap. xxxv. § 39. Neapoli, Dura, 1859, p. 707.)

they held to be the accustomed manner, and refused to change it ; but he then directed that the bier should be turned about, with the feet towards the door and the head to the altar.<sup>1</sup>

John Burckard's influence upon the Roman Liturgy is still visible with his edition of the Roman Pontifical, and still more by his edition of an *Ordo Missae*. This *Ordo* has had great influence upon the present Roman ceremonial of Low Mass, so great that Pierre le Brun has stated that in the reform of Pius V in 1570 Burckard's *Ordo* was followed almost word for word,<sup>2</sup> though I must confess that this particular expression is an over-statement.

In the *Rituale* of Paul the Fifth, published by this pope in 1614, the change in the burial of

<sup>1</sup> Diary, Sept. 20, 1494. Intravimus per portam lateralem Araceli : guardianus locavit se versus portam principalem ecclesie et crux versus chorum ; noluit mutari, asserens sic apud eos esse consuetum. Ego nihilominus fieri feci feretrum cum funere more consueto, videlicet pedes versus portam et caput versus altare maius. (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Città de Castello, 1910, ordinata da L. A. Muratori direz. Giosue Carducci e Vittorio Fiorini, t. xxxii. The diary has also been edited by L. Thuasne, ed. Enrico Celani, *Iohannis Burchardi Argentinensis . . . Diarium*, Paris, Leroux, 1884, t. ii. p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Le Brun, *Explication . . . de la Messe*, part iv. art. xvi. § 4, Paris, 1777. t. i. p. 531. An edition of Burckard's *Ordo Missae* as published in 1502, collated with an earlier and shorter recension printed in 1501, appears in *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904.

ecclesiastics made by Burckard was accepted, and this strange piece of Paganism passed into the practice of the Roman Church ; for there can be little doubt that Burckard when he insisted upon the feet of the corpse being set towards the door was thinking of the old heathen practice. And Catalani tells us that in the sixteenth century lay folk began to be buried in the same way,<sup>1</sup> in accordance with humanistic ideas. But the practice was limited by the *Rituale* of Paul the Fifth to bishops and priests. What determined this separation of the lay folk is not at present known.

Thus the change made by Burckard became in little over a hundred years the recognized practice of the Roman liturgy in the burial of priests and bishops. His character was indeed most unsatisfactory, and he is spoken of by a contemporary as *omnium bestiarum bestialissimus*. The editors of the edition of 1907 say that in his last illness when he went to take the cure at Viterbo he was surrounded by certain 'belle peccatrice *honeste cortigiane*.'<sup>2</sup> But he has left a serious mark on the ceremonial of Low Mass as well as on the *Rituale*.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Catalani, *Rituale Romanum Benedicti Papae XIV*. Patavii, Manfr , 1760, t. i. p. 396. De exequiis, tit. vi. cap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Enrico Celani, *op. cit.*, Prefazione, p. xiii.

Mr. W. H. James Weale, the well-known Roman Catholic editor of the useful *Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini*, remarks with a certain amount of satisfaction that

The old Catholic custom of burying all without exception with their feet towards the east still prevails in most countries, even where the Roman Missal and Breviary have been adopted.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE DIVINE SERVICE

The recitation of the whole Psalter within a certain specified time is the backbone of the Divine Service. In the early Christian centuries the whole psalter was recited by the devout every day ; for St. Benedict complains of the luke-warm monks of his time that they only read in a week what the holy fathers accomplished in a single day.<sup>2</sup> Later the week became the usual time allowed for the recitation of the whole psalter ; but in the Ambrosian breviary a fortnight was allowed, and in the Reformed Humiliates in 1548 a whole month.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. H. James Weale, *The Ecclesiologist*, Sept. 1, 1888, No. 3, p. 48. This is not the old Cambridge *Ecclesiologist*, but a journal begun by Mr. Weale himself.

<sup>2</sup> *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, cap. xviii. ed. Cuthbert Butler, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1912, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this edition of the breviary of the Humiliates, see *Transactions of the Saint Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1886-1890, vol. ii. p. 278.

How greatly the psalter dominates the divine service may be gathered by the following testimony of Dom Henri Leclercq :

The psalter appears to have furnished almost exclusively the material of which the divine service was made up from the most remote antiquity. Anthems, responds, invitatories, introits, graduals, alleluias, tracts, offertories, communions, are all drawn from the psalter.

. . . . .

Since apostolic times it is the psalms, and canticles taken from the Old Testament, that, with public reading of the sacred books, constitute the constituent and essential part of divine service.

. . . . .

Psalmody, lessons, collects, these are the three parts of which divine service has been made up since the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

The psalter being so important, it might have been thought that every care would have been taken, during the centuries that the divine service has been said in the Church of Rome, to ensure the due pre-eminence of the psalter over the rest of the office. At the first page of the breviary it will hardly be denied that the

<sup>1</sup> Dom Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol, Paris, Letouzey, 1907, t. i. col. 2298, sub voce *Antienne*.

distribution of the psalter, title : *Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam*, suggests a strict recitation of the whole psalter in the week ; and this, no doubt, was the purpose with which the early editors of the Roman breviary drew up their distribution. But it was by no means perfect.

It is true that the distribution of the psalter in the Roman breviary before 1911 was most ancient ; but if the purpose of the distribution were to accomplish the recitation of the breviary weekly without any repetition of the same psalm in the week, it will be acknowledged by all that the old distribution had failed. For example, *Beati immaculati* was daily recited ; Psalms cxlviii., cxlix., cl. were also daily recited ;<sup>1</sup> and the four psalms at Complin (Pss. iv., xxx., xc., cxxxiii.) were also the same, daily throughout the year. This daily recitation of so many psalms may have been a survival from a still older distribution where all the psalms were recited every day. But it was a fault. This Monseigneur Batiffol, one of our best authorities on the history of the breviary, acknowledges :

The incessant daily use of Psalm cxviii. [that is, *Beati immaculati*, our Ps. cxix.] was a grave im-

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of the Psalms in the Vulgate are not always the same as in the Hebrew.

perfection in the breviary, especially when we consider how little variety there is in the matter contained in this psalm, and the monotonous character of its literary form. Indeed, one might go so far as to say that the psalmody of these ferial lesser hours has never before been properly dealt with in the Roman office, and that Pius the Tenth has here had not so much to reform as to create.<sup>1</sup>

This then was an initial fault if the psalter were to be recited without repeating the same psalm more than once in the week. But a positive abuse arose in the early Middle Ages, and this was the almost daily use of the proper psalms assigned to the festivals of the saints. The festivals of the saints increased in such number that at last they occupied almost every day in the Calendar, and where a saint's day fell there the proper psalms for a saint had to be said, and the psalms for that day of the week were not said. Thus of the nineteenth century Dom Cabrol could affirm that

the greater number of the days of the year—at least nine-tenths—are appropriated to special feasts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, translated by Atwill M. Y. Baylay, Longmans, 1912, pp. 327-8. This is the edition of Monseigneur Batiffol's *History of the Roman Breviary* which will be quoted in the following pages.

<sup>2</sup> Fernand Cabrol, *Catholic Encyclopædia*, New York, no date [about 1907], vol. ii. p. 771, sub voce *Breviary*.

St. Bernard, in the well-known letter which he wrote to the Canons of Lyons against keeping the feast of the Immaculate Conception, foresees that the principles on which this feast is instituted will lead to the keeping of the conception of Anne and Joachim and their ancestors :

Thus the number of feasts will become infinite. The abundance of joyous celebrations is a sign of being in the [heavenly] country, not in a state of exile ; and the multitude of festivals becomes citizens, not exiles.<sup>1</sup>

Clement the Tenth, who was Roman Pontiff from 1670 to 1676, helped on greatly the ruin of the ferial office. How much he is to blame may be gathered from the studiously moderate language of Dom Prosper Guéranger. This writer would have judged it mortal sin to have let escape the smallest sign of disagreement with the action of a Pope. Yet, speaking of this Pope, he says :

By his numerous additions to the Calendar, Clement the Tenth may be considered as the author of a veritable liturgical revolution. Up to his time new doubles were admitted into the Calendar with moderation, so that their office should not take precedence of the Sunday ; and even the semi-

<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard, *Epistolae*, clxxiv. 6, in Migne, *P. L.*, clxxxii.

doubles were allowed in small number : but this Pope set aside this rule in so serious a manner that after him the greater part of the offices introduced were doubles, and this has changed completely the face of the Roman Calendar.<sup>1</sup>

Like St. Bernard, Nicholas de Clémangis was against the introduction of fresh festivals. He wrote a book, *De novis celebritatibus non instituendis*, about the year 1413, which would be within a year or so of his work *De corrupto ecclesiae statu*. He describes the way in which the populace kept the festivals with sacrilege and orgies, not with church-going ; and then asks the question :

Who does not perceive how much better it would be not to keep festivals at all than to keep them in this way ?<sup>2</sup>

And again :

As it would be much better not to receive the Lord's body unworthily, even when we are bound to receive it by the order of the Church, would it be better not to keep a feast day, and to work in the fields, rather than to spend it in chambering and wantonness ?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dom Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, Le Mans et Paris, 1841, t. ii. p. 134, ch. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas de Clémangis, *De novis celebritatibus non instituendis*, in *Opera omnia*, Lugd. Babar. Elzevir, 1613, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

Doctor Navarrus says that he approves of Quignon's breviary where it differed from the old breviary for these reasons :

Almost the whole of Scripture is read once a year, and a good part twice, and the psalter once a week. . . . Then there is taken away the distraction that arises when we have to look out little chapters, responds, versicles, psalms out of their order.

Thus in the opinion of Doctor Navarrus it is the looking backwards and forwards in the pages of the breviary for responds, anthems, and the like which hinders devotion. And yet there are certain people who in our day look upon these fringes or embroideries of the Roman breviary with great admiration and want to reintroduce anthems and invitatories into our choir offices, in spite of the warnings that Roman Catholic authors give us against their use.<sup>1</sup>

Doctor Navarrus reminds us a good deal of a well-known sentence in the Preface to Edward VI's first book which runs :

Moreouer the nombre and hardnes of the rules called the pie and the manifolde chaunginges of the

<sup>1</sup> Martin ab Azpilcueta, *Enchiridion sive Manuale de Oratione et Horis canonicis*, Romae, 1578, p. 448.

service, was the cause that to turne the booke onely, was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times, there was more busines to fynd out what should be read than to read it when it was founde out.

Dr. Fortescue notes that the Kyrie Eleison of the Mass has no object to the verb.

The precedent for Christian use was its frequent occurrence in the Bible. Here it is already a quasi-liturgical form. The only difference is that all the examples in the Bible have an object (ἐλέησόν με or ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Our formula in church is shortened from this.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the formula would seem to run better in the Book of Common Prayer where an object is added: such as, have mercy *upon us*.

Dr. Fortescue is quite ready to agree with Dom Henri Leclercq in holding that the Greek liturgies are not to be passed over. Dom Henri Leclercq notes that

If you put side by side the same pieces of the two liturgies [Roman and Greek] the superiority of the Greek is at once apparent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol, Paris, Letouzey, 1907, t. i. col. 2295, sub voce *Antienne*.

Speaking of the changes made by Innocent III about 1215, Salimbene says of the divine service at Rome :

But not yet is it well set in order . . . for many superfluous things remain, which are a greater cause of weariness than devotion, both to those who hear the office and those who say it. Such is that long prime on Sundays, when the priests ought to be saying their Masses, and the people are waiting to hear them, and lo ! there is none to celebrate ; he is busy, forsooth, saying his Prime. So also to say eighteen psalms in Sunday nocturn office or ever you come to *Te Deum laudamus*, and that just as much in the summer, when the fleas are so troublesome, and the nights are short and the heat intense, as in the winter, is nought but a weariness. There are many other things in the ecclesiastical office which might well be changed for the better, and should be, of right : for they are full of barbarisms, though all men perceive it not.<sup>1</sup>

The lessons taken from the lives of saints have always been a stumbling-block. I<sup>2</sup> have found on the margin of late copies of the breviary annotations such as the following written against the legends of the saints—*Neutiquam . . . Fabula . . . Apocrypha . . . Falsa narratio . . . Fabula anilis . . . Officium stolidum et ridiculum*. These marginal notes are by

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptorum, t. xxxii. pars. i. Hannover, Hahn, 1905, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Batiffol himself.

clerks of the Renaissance. But long before the Renaissance, Ralph of Tongres reproached the breviary of the Minorites with having admitted apocryphal writings condemned in the list drawn up by Pope Gelasius, and acts such as those of S. George, S. Barbara, and S. Katherine—'apocryphal and contemptible works, full of incredible tales'—not to speak of a number of passions of saints inserted in particular local editions of the breviary, accepted without any discernment, which cannot safely be read in the office.<sup>1</sup>

In the sixteenth century Marini, Bishop of Lanciano, one of the three Commissioners of the Council of Trent for the revision of the breviary, severely criticised the omission of the week-day psalms and lessons and the substitution therefor of those of the saint's day.

They felt (and the point is excellently expressed by Marini) that the ferial office is the fundamental one: it was most unbecoming that that office should be the one least often said, especially in Lent, when the canons of the Church ordain, on the contrary, that it should be the only one used; they were sensible that the recitation of the psalter, which ought to be performed in its entirety every week, had been so cut up in practice that the psalms of the Common of Saints, and none other, came over and over, to the weariness of those who said the

<sup>1</sup> Batiffol, p. 168.

office ; and that the reading of Holy Scripture could not be diminished as it was, without the ignorance of the clergy being increased in the same degree.<sup>1</sup>

Of the breviary of the twelfth century Batiffol says :

It is no longer made for singing in choir, but for reciting as you go along the high road. For all that, the antiphonary, the responsorial, the *Ordo psallendi*, and the *Ordo legendi* of old times have been preserved, and the hymnal has been added : but the lectionary has been corrupted. And if we owe a just debt of gratitude to those who have given us the antiphons of our Lady, what are we to say, on the other hand, of the supererogatory offices ?

It is difficult not to see in these additions of adventitious devotions, so numerous and so burdensome, a grave wrong done to the canonical office itself. But there is a graver wrong still : the festivals of the saints have been multiplied to such a degree as to make the Temporale, which is the very foundation of the Roman Office, a thing condemned to desuetude—to say nothing of the whole year being loaded with translations of festivals.<sup>2</sup>

Cluny had already overburdened itself with these accretions ; worthy Udalric asseverates and vows that the monks bore it all with freshness, alacrity,

<sup>1</sup> P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, Longmans, 1912, p. 200. On pp. 223-229 is printed the original Italian of this report.

<sup>2</sup> Batiffol, p. 173.

and joy. That may be ; but the reader who will have the patience to read him (and especially the 39th chapter of his first book) will be apt to think that he is himself very good evidence that the monks of Cluny monastery must have been pretty well breathless before they got to the end of the day.<sup>1</sup>

The councils of the fifteenth century vie with one another in deploring the coldness with which the clergy perform their duty of reciting the canonical office, even in choir. They do not, as it seems, sufficiently recognize the fact that this coldness, this scandalous negligence, proceeds in part from the deterioration of the office itself, and especially from these burdensome additions for which the devotion of a saint would scarce suffice.<sup>2</sup>

Martin of Senging writes to the Council of Basle in 1435, and describes the way in which the divine service was celebrated in his time :

The Divine Office is recited in disorderly fashion, in haste, without devotion, and with a perverse intention, viz. an itching desire to get to the end of it : the clergy even go so far as to prefer to the canonical office itself the superfluous additions which are tacked on to it.<sup>3</sup>

With this liturgical deterioration we arrive at the end of the Middle Ages. The printing press receives

<sup>1</sup> Edm. Bishop, *The Prymer or Lay Folk's Prayer Book*, p. xxix., edited by Henry Littlehales, Early English Text Society, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Batiffol, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Martin of Senging quoted by Batiffol, pp. 173 and 174.

the Roman Breviary from the hands of the Roman *Curia*. We are come to about A.D. 1500, and this breviary of the *Curia* has now been in existence for about three centuries. Will the wishes of Ralph of Tongres be realized, and a return be made to the liturgy of the eighth century? Or for these changed times will some new sort of *euchologium* be produced? Or is this book of the thirteenth century destined to endure?<sup>1</sup>

Ralph of Tongres exhorts the clergy to much patience, using the words:

Receive therefore the easy yoke of the Lord which is placed upon you by the holy Roman see, even if it seem to be intolerable.

In memory of the blessed apostle Peter let us do honour to the holy Roman Church and Apostolic See that she who is the mother of priestly dignity ought to be the mistress of ecclesiastical order. Wherefore humility is to be preserved with all gentleness. And even if the yoke imposed by this holy See is hardly to be borne, yet let us bear and endure it with a pious devotion.<sup>2</sup>

Cardinal Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop remark in their edition of the Bosworth Psalter that:

This seems to shew that in the fifteenth century there was a change of practice in Canterbury

<sup>1</sup> Batiffol, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph of Tongres, *De Canonum observantia propositio X.*

cathedral and a levelling up to the ways of modern times. We here assist at the promotion there of the hard rules of the Pie, resulting so often from the multiplication of octaves on the one hand and on the other the disuse of the good old Roman simple plan of observing an octave by saying a prayer on the sole eighth day after the feast and that was all.<sup>1</sup>

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represent for the Liturgy, as for the greater number of other ecclesiastical institutions, a period of decline, for it is the time of schisms, and in that one word everything harmful is summed up. The few documents that are available for the liturgical history of that time attest this, as, for example, the 'Gesta Benedicti XIII' and the 'XV Ordo Romanus.' Disorder and abuses crept into the Liturgy as into everything else.<sup>2</sup>

Monsignor Marco Vattasso, the well-known author of the invaluable *Initia Patrum* and a Scriptor in the Vatican Library, has reviewed a work of Father Tacchi Venturi, S.J., on the history of the Company of Jesus in Italy. The reader may judge for himself from the account given by the Monsignor in *Il Momento*, Turin, Monday, 22 November, 1909, of the scandals

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter*, London, Bell, 1908, p. 71 note.

<sup>2</sup> F. Cabrol, *Catholic Encyclopædia*, New York, no date, ? 1907, vol. ii. p. 774, under *Breviary*.

of the time. The sixteenth century was indeed a bad age ; but how came it that the Church could allow such a state of affairs to be possible ?

Monsignor Vattasso holds that

The state of the Church before the Council of Trent was most wretched. Innumerable disorders were to be found everywhere. . . . The first of these was the promotion to holy orders of ignorant and unworthy candidates ; the second that in presenting to livings more attention was paid to the profit of the person called to the office than to the good of souls ; the third was the non-residence of bishops on their Sees. . . . The education of the secular clergy was very low. Some did not know how to read, or in reading made nonsense : others were completely ignorant of grammar ; others did not know the form of absolution.

A little further on he tells us that the bishoprics had become family livings, and the bishops themselves were entirely free from a shadow of an ecclesiastical vocation.

For the Gregorian Collects Dr. Fortescue has of course nothing but praise :

It is the old collects that really are collects and not long florid prayers. A tendency to pile up explanatory allusions, classical forms that savour of Cicero and not at all of the rude simplicity that is real liturgical style, florid rhetoric that would suit

the Byzantine rite in Greek rather than our reticent Roman tradition, these things have left too many traces in the later propers. It is astonishing that the people should have so little sense of congruity, apparently [should] never think of following the old tradition, or of harmony with the old ordinary. We obey the authority of the Church, of course, always. But it is not forbidden to hope for such a Pope again as Benedict XIV who will give us back more of our old Roman Calendar.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing in the Missal is so redolent of the character of our rite, nothing so *Roman* as the old collects—and nothing, alas, so little Roman as the new ones.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Fortescue is able, however, to congratulate himself that by the decree *Divino afflatu* of November 1, 1911, published by Pius X, much of the old *Proprium temporis* for office and mass has been brought back.<sup>3</sup>

Speaking of the text of the Antiphoner in use at the beginning of the ninth century Batiffol quotes Amalarius to show that it was even then corrupt.

God knows whether they are mistaken or those were mistaken, who boasted that they had received them from the masters of the Roman Church, or

<sup>1</sup> Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213, note 1.

whether the Romans have since lost them through carelessness and neglect.<sup>1</sup>

Another grave deterioration in an important part of the Divine Service, the metrical hymns, took place in the revision of Urban VIII after the Middle Ages had ended. The hymns of the breviary were 'corrected' and brought, it was thought, into conformity with the rules of classical poetry. But it will now be almost universally acknowledged that the hymns have been much injured. Dr. Richard Chenevix Trench, the Archbishop of Dublin, complains that 'well nigh the whole grace and beauty and even vigour of the composition had disappeared in the process.'<sup>2</sup>

Batiffol admits this, owning that :

At the present time all the world agrees in regretting this modernization of the ancient hymns. Urban VIII and his versifiers started from a wrong principle, through ignorance of the rules of rhythmic poetry, a kind of poetry quite misunderstood in an age when people in all simplicity believed the hymns of S. Thomas Aquinas to have been composed '*Etrusco rhythmico*.' It would be cruel to insist further on such a mistake.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amalarius quoted by Batiffol, p. 68 *note*.

<sup>2</sup> R. C. Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, London. Third edition, Kegan Paul, 1886. Introduction, p. 15 *note*.

<sup>3</sup> Batiffol, p. 222.

The old *Kalendarium*, still printed at the beginning of the Missal, is merely a relic of earlier days. It is no more consulted than the directions for finding Easter. We now need a current 'Ordo' that tells us which Mass to seek in which appendix. A further complication is caused by the popular modern plan of attaching a feast, not to a day of the month, but to some Sunday or Friday. Such feasts are fitted awkwardly among the fixed ones.<sup>1</sup>

A certain number of our people have for years been telling us that liturgical perfection may be found in the Roman Rite, especially after the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites; so that it may be news to them to learn that members of the Roman Communion still have faults to find in their liturgy.

<sup>1</sup> Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 212.

THE DEGRADATION OF A PRIEST FROM HOLY  
ORDERS IN 1686

*The taking away, so asserted, of the Priest-  
hood from the Rev. Samuel Johnson  
in 1686*<sup>1</sup>

IT is well known that in the pre-reformation church, as well as since the council of Trent, certain ceremonies have been observed in the degradation of clerks; and there is evidence that like ceremonies were practised in the Church of England before the breach with Rome;<sup>2</sup> but it is perhaps less well known that after the Reform the clerk to be degraded was brought into the presence of the bishop or bishops and there despoiled of all his clerical ornaments as part of the process of degradation. The ecclesi-

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *The English Historical Review*, October 1914.

<sup>2</sup> For notes on the practice, and examples of the office used, see William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1882, vol. ii. pp. clix. and 332.

astical law books, such as Gibson,<sup>1</sup> Burn,<sup>2</sup> Ayliffe,<sup>3</sup> and others, contain notices of this.

Godolphin gives the following account :

It is evident from the Premisses, That a *Deprivation* from an Ecclesiastical Benefice will follow upon a Disgrading or Degradation from the Ecclesiastical Function or Calling, for this *Degradation* is the Incapacitating of a Clerk for discharge of that holy Function, for it is the punishment of such a Clerk, as being delivered to his Ordinary, cannot purge himself of the Offence, whereof he was convicted by the Jury : And it is a Privation of him from those holy Orders of Clerkship which formerly he had, as Priesthood, Deaconship, &c. (*t*). And by the *Canon Law* this may be done Two waies, either *Summarily*, as by Word only ; or *Solemnly*, as by divesting the party degraded of those Ornaments and Rites, which were the Ensigns of his Order or Degree (*u*). But in matters Criminal Princes anciently have had such a tender respect for the Clergy, and for the credit of the whole profession thereof, That if any man among them committed anything worthy of death or open

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Gibson, *Codex Iuris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1761, ii. 1066.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, London, 1763, i. 484, under *Degradation*.

<sup>3</sup> John Ayliffe, *Parergon*, London, 1726, p. 206.

(*t*) [Sir William] Stanf[ord] [Les] Plea[s del] Cor[one] [London Stationers Co., 1607] fo. 130 & 138. [*in m.*]

(*u*) Vid. [Iohn] Seld[en]. *Tit[les] of Hon[or]*. [Part ii. ch. v. § xxxviii., 2nd edition, London, Stansby & Whittakers, 1631] fo. 787. [*in m.*]

shame, he was not first executed or exposed to Publick disgrace, until he had been degraded by the Bishop and his Clergy ; and so was executed and put to shame, not as a Clerk, but as a Lay-Malefactor ; which regard towards Ecclesiasticks in respect of the dignity of the Ministry, is observed by a Learned Author to be much more Ancient, than any Papistical Immunity (*x*) ; and is such a Priviledge as the Church, in respect of such as once waited on the Altar, hath in all Ages been honoured with.<sup>1</sup>

The canon law to which Godolphin refers is to be found in a decretal of Boniface VIII.

Verbalis degradatio seu depositio ab ordinibus vel gradibus ecclesiasticis est a proprio episcopo, sibi assistente in degradatione clericorum in sacris constitutorum ordinibus certo episcoporum numero diffinito † canonibus, facienda, quanquam proprii episcopi sententia sine aliorum episcoporum præsentia sufficiat in degradatione eorum, qui minores duntaxat ordines receperunt.<sup>2</sup>

The punishment of degradation was also known to Chamberlayne, who speaks thus of it :

(*x*) [Sir Thomas] Ridl[ey] [a] View [of the Civile and Ecclesiasticall Law, Oxford, Hall & Davis, 1676, 4th edition, p. 158] p. 2, cap. 2, sect. 3. [*in m.*]

<sup>1</sup> John Godolphin, *Repertorium Canonicum*, 2nd edition, London, Roycroft & Wilkinson, 1680, ch. xxvii. of Deprivation, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Sexti Decretal.*, lib. v. tit. ix. cap. ii. (Richter & Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Lipsiae, 1881, pars. ii. col. 1090).

*Deprivatio ab Officio*, when a Minister is wholly, and for ever, deprived of his Orders; and this is *Depositio*, or *Degradatio*; and is commonly for some heinous Crime meriting Death; and is performed by the Bishop in a solemn Manner, pulling off from the Criminal his Vestments, and other Ensigns of his Order; and this in the Presence of the Civil Magistrate, to whom he is then delivered to be punished as a Layman for the like Offence.<sup>1</sup>

There is an instance of this degradation in the person of the too famous Alexander Leighton. But the details of the process of his degradation are not set out at length. It is evident that he was considered to be in some kind of orders, whether obtained in Scotland or in Holland is not quite certain.<sup>2</sup> And thus in

<sup>1</sup> John Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia*, London, 1755, part i. book iii. ch. viii. p. 194. It appears in earlier issues also.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sprott (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, *sub voce* Alex. Leighton) thinks that he was ordained in Holland, while Dr. S. R. Gardiner (*The Personal Government of Charles the First*, 1877, vol. i. p. 177, ch. iv.) says he was a minister in Scotland. He is said to have taken the M.D. at Leyden, but his name does not appear in the *Index to English-speaking Students who have graduated in Leyden University* (ed. Edw. Peacock, Index Soc., 1883, p. 59). 'Alexander Lichton, Anglus Londinensis 9. Sept. 1617' does not correspond in name or country. After examination by the College of Physicians in London, he was forbidden to practise in England. I cannot understand why Dr. Gardiner should think the college was 'not anxious to detect his knowledge.' He certainly gives no reason for his somewhat unworthy suspicion of an honourable public

accordance with the tenderness and the respect shown to the clergy by the civil power, he was degraded at Lambeth on 4 November, 1630, in order that no clergyman might be said to have undergone such punishments as whipping and the pillory. Leighton says he was 'carried before the Hierarchy at Lambeth'; so there would seem to have been something like an assembly of bishops; and he 'disclaimed their judicature,'<sup>1</sup> very possibly not in the most respectful manner, for when before the Court of High Commission he refused to take off his hat.

Titus Oates is said to have contrived to 'slip into Orders'<sup>2</sup> by the carelessness of some bishop

body. Neither in physic nor in divinity does Leighton appear to have been particularly successful. When on the pillory his language was blasphemous. 'He told the people he suffered that for their sins; and out of the Psalms and Isaiah applied unto himself the prophecies of Christ's sufferings to the great scandal of many': and the like. The king was about to have pardoned Leighton the corporal chastisement if he had not broken prison on the eve of the infliction of the sentence (Mead to Stuteville, 3 December, 1630, ed. by Rob. F. Williams in *Court and Times of Charles the First*, London, 1848, ii. 83).

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Leighton, *Epitome*, 1646, p. 82. The Rev. George Horner has with much kindness made a search for details of the degradation at Lambeth and the Public Record Office; but without success.

<sup>2</sup> Swift ('Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction, &c.,' in *Works*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1814, iv. 323) makes a group of four criminous clerks of this period: Samuel Johnson, the subject of this paper, Edm. Hickeringill, whom Sir Walter Scott styles 'a meddling crazy

of St. Asaph. However obtained, he was treated by the Court of King's Bench as a clerk in orders, and the second portion of the sentence in 1685 for perjury was 'That you be stript of all your Canonical Habits.'<sup>1</sup> A few years later, 1689, the House of Commons remarked 'that it was surely of ill Example for a Temporal Court to give Judgment, "That a Clerk be divested of his Canonical Habits; and continue so divested during his Life."' <sup>2</sup> This they had before noted 'was a Matter wholly out of their Power, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Courts only.'<sup>3</sup>

Samuel Johnson, otherwise 'Julian' Johnson, was tried at the King's Bench Bar on Monday, 21 June, 1686, for an offence which no government could possibly overlook, that of dispersing amongst the king's soldiers a printed paper inciting them to disobey orders. The jury in a quarter of an hour brought in a verdict of guilty of high misdemeanour.<sup>4</sup> On 16 Novem-

fool,' Oates the perjurer, and Gilbert Burnet, who afterwards became a bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Cobbett's *Complete Collection of State Trials*, London, 1811, vol. x. col. 1316.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, 1689, 2 August, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 1689, 31 May, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> *An account of the Proceedings against Samuel Johnson : who was Tried at the Kings-Bench-Bar, Westminster, for High*

ber following he was brought up for sentence, when he was told that he should be degraded from the Order of Priesthood, which the Court was very sorry for, &c. Yet must pronounce this following Sentence. And that is, That he pay a Fine of Five Hundred Marks. And that he stand in the *Pillory* three times, *viz.* on *Monday* next in the *Pallace Yard* at *Westminster*; and on the *Wednesday* following at *Charing-Cross*; and on the *Monday* after that, at the *Royal-Exchange* in *Cornhill*. And to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and to stand committed till all be performed, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it was not 'in order to load him with greater Ignominy,'<sup>1</sup> as the author of the Memorials prefixed to the *Works* of Samuel Johnson sets forth; but as a following of the usual practice in these cases, that it was decided to degrade Samuel Johnson from the order of

*Misdemeanour*: And was found Guilty of Writing and Publishing Two Seditious and Scandalous Libels against the Government on Monday the 21st of June, 1686. [Bodleian Lib. Ashm. F. 6. (66.)] Cf. *The English Reports*, vol. lxxxix., King's Bench Division, xviii., 1908, p. 1058. After the Revolution he published again these seditious incitements (*A Second Five Years' Struggle against Popery and Tyranny*, London, 1689, p. 110).

<sup>1</sup> 'Some Memorials of Mr. Samuel Johnson,' p. ix., prefixed to an edition of his *Works*, London, 1710, in folio. See also below, p. 83.

priesthood before corporal punishments were inflicted upon him.

Accordingly, on the Saturday before the sentence had to be carried out, the journals of the House of Commons of 24 June, 1689, tell us (apparently relying on information given by Samuel Johnson himself) that

he, being a Prisoner in the *King's Bench*, which is in *Surry*, in the Diocese of the Bishop of *Winton*, was summoned the Nineteenth Day of *November*, 1686, to appear the Next Day, the Twentieth of *November*, in the Convocation [i.e. Chapter] House of *St. Paul's* in the Diocese of the Bishop of *London*; he being Rector of *Curringham* in *Essex*, within that Diocese. Upon the Twentieth of *November* a *Habeas Corpus* was brought to carry him from the *King's Bench* Prison to the Convocation; where he found the Bishops of *Durham*, *Rochester*, and *Peterborough*, Commissioners to exercise the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *London*, during his Suspension, with some Clergymen, and many Spectators; and a Libel exhibited against him by one *Godfrey Lee*, a Proctor, dated that Day, charging him of being guilty of great Misbehaviours; but specified none, nor proved any; and only referred to a Record before the King's Temporal Judges.<sup>1</sup>

Having apparently in mind the canon law that has been quoted above, the commissioners

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, x. 193. 24 June, 1689.

for executing the office of the bishop of London during his suspension sent out circular letters to certain of the chapter of St. Paul's and of the parish clergy, summoning them to attend the degradation of Samuel Johnson.

Wee his Majesty's Commissioners for the exercise of all manner of Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction within the Diocess of London during the suspension of the present Bishop of the same intending to degrade Samuel Johnson Clerk, who by reason of his being convicted of certain notorious Crimes by him committed, is become infamous to the whole Order of the Clergy, doe hereby will and require you, to meet us in the Chapter house of the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul London on Saturday the Twentieth of this instant November between the hours of Nine and Twelve in the Forenoon of the same Day, then and there to assist us in the degrading of the said Samuel Johnson. Given under our hands this Seventeenth Day of November in the year of our Lord 1686.<sup>2</sup>

N. DURESME.

THO: ROFFEN.

THO: PETRIBURGENS.

[Added in Tanner's hand ?] Sente (I believe) to Bishop Patrick out of whose papers transcribed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 30, fo. 146. In this collection there are several other papers bearing upon this matter.

The absence of the dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Stillingfleet, and of Dr. Symon Patrick, rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, during the degradation may be noted. Both received fresh preferment after the revolution. But a good number of the chapter seem to have been present, as is desirable by custom when a clerk is to be degraded.

Though Dr. Henry Compton was suspended from his office as bishop, yet the account of the process of degradation is to be found in the first part of his Register, which is in the custody of the chancellor of the diocese of London, by whose permission the extract which follows was rotographed. There is a copy of this document, apparently also taken from Compton's Register, in the Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 30, fo. 147.

I am much indebted to Mr. T. Gambier-Parry for the transcription from the rotographs. In printing, the contractions have been expanded without indicating the letters supplied to fill up the contractions. Where there seemed no sufficient ground for expansion, only the letters of the rotograph have been given. When it has been thought well to point out that a word follows exactly the spelling of the manuscript, an obelus has been added after the word.

Mr. Gambier-Parry has also given me abundance of help in the editing of the document ; and I owe much to Sir Alfred Cripps, K.C.V.O., now Lord Parmoor, for an introduction to the authorities at Doctors' Commons, by means of which it was possible to have the rotograph taken, the text of which is the foundation of this paper.

fo. 90<sup>v</sup> Die Sabbati vicesimo viz<sup>t</sup>. die mensis Novembris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo sexto inter horas nonam et duodecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei coram Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus et Dominis Nathaniele<sup>1</sup> permissione divina Dunelmensi Episcopo et Thoma<sup>2</sup> eadem permissione Roffensi Episcopo et Thoma<sup>3</sup> eadem permissione Petriburgensi Episcopo ad exercendum omnimodam et plenariam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra Civitatem [et] Diocesisin Londinenses durante suspensione Domini Henrici London Episcopi Comissarijs regiis legitime constitutis in Domino † Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Divi Pauli Londinensis tunc et ibidem pro Tribunali sedentibus præsentente Richardo Newcourt Notario Publico Registrarij deputato.

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Crewe, third Baron Crewe of Stene, born 1633, died 1721. Elected bishop of Durham in 1674.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Spratt, born 1635, died 1713, elected bishop of Rochester in 1684. As dean of Westminster he took part in the coronation of William and Mary.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas White, born 1628, died 1698, elected bishop of Peterborough in 1685. One of the seven bishops sent to the Tower by James II, he refused the oaths at the revolution.

Negotium deprivationis sive de-	}	Quibus Die et
gradationis Samuelis Johnson		Loco et inter
clerici Rectoris Ecclesiæ parochialis		horas prædictas
de Coringham alias Curringham in		dicti Reverendi
Comitatu Essexiæ et Diœcesis		Patres jusserunt
London promotum per Godfredum	}	Literas patentes
Lee Notarium Publicum		Regias eis ad

exercendum omnimodam et plenariam Jurisdictionem infra Civitatem et Diœcesin London durante Suspensione Domini Henrici London Episcopi concessas perlegi Quibus per me Richardum Newcourt Notarium Publicum Registrarij deputatum perlectis, Domini Domini Episcopi assignarunt præfatum Godfredum Lee ad hoc Negotium promovendum, Ipseque, onus promotionis hujusmodi in se accep-tavit et petijt procedendum fore decerni in hujusmodi Negotio sumarie, et Domini decreverunt procedendum fore in hoc Negotio sumarie prout per dictum Lee fuit petitem, Tunc dictus Lee retulit Mandatum originale cum Certificatorio indor-sato sub tenore verborum sequentium viz<sup>t</sup>.

Petrus<sup>1</sup> permissione divina Wintonensis Episcopus Universis et singulis Clericis et Literatis quibuscunque in et per totam diœcesin Wintonensem prædictam ubilibet constitutis Salutem.

Cum Nos Literas quasdam citatorias a Reverendis in Christo Patribus ac Dominis Dominis Nathanaele permissione eadem Dunelmensi Episcopo Thoma eadem permissione Petriburgensi Episcopo ad exer-

<sup>1</sup> Peter Mews, born 1619, died 1706, elected bishop of Winchester in 1684, took the oaths after the revolution.

cendum omnimodam et plenariam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra Civitatem et Diocesi London durante suspensione Domini Henrici London Episcopi Commissariis Regiis legitime constitutis nuper receperimus quarum verus tenor sub hac verborum formula sequitur viz<sup>t</sup>.

Nathanael<sup>\*</sup> Permissione Divina Dunelmensis Episcopus Thomas eadem permissione Roffensis Episcopus et Thomas. eadem permissione Petri-burgensis Episcopus ad exercendum omnimodam et plenariam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra Civitatem et Diocesi London durante suspensione Domini Henrici London Episcopi Commissarii Regii legitime constituti Dilecto Confratri nostro Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino Petro eadem permissione Wintonensi Episcopo ejusve Vicario in Spiritualibus Generali et Officiali Principali legitime constituto aut alii Judici in hac parte competenti cuicunque Tenore præsentium significamus Quod Nos ex officio nostro rite et legitime procedentes quendam Samuelem Johnson Clericum Rectorem de Corringham in Comitatu Essexiæ et Diocesi London prædictis alias de Grandibus malegesturis coram Judicibus Secularibus hujus inclyti Regni Angliæ in ea parte competentibus Secundum Leges et statuta ejusdem Regni Angliæ detectum et denunciatum ac de et super eisdem legitime convictum ac ad subeundem<sup>†</sup> pœnam condignam pro eisdem | condemnatum et adjudicatum ad diem horam et locum et ad effectum infrascriptum

citandum et ad iudicium evocandum fore decrevimus Justitia mediante Cumque Idem Samuel Johnson in Carcere vocato the King's Bench in Burgo de Southwark in Comitatu Surriæ Vestræ Diocesis Wintonensis fuerit et sit in præsentiquominus auctoritate nostra ad effectum subscriptum citari valeat vestram igitur paternitatem in Subsidium Juris et sub mutuæ vicissitudinis obtentu rogamus quatenus citetis seu citari faciatis peremptorie præfatum Samuelem Johnson quod vestibis sacerdotalibus indutus compareat, coram nobis in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Divi Pauli London die Sabbati Vicesimo viz<sup>t</sup>. die mensis Novembris instantis inter horas nonam et duodecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei literas suas tam Diaconatûs quam Presbiteratus ordinum exhibiturum et introducturum ac causam rationabilem et legitimam si quam pro se habeat aut dicere sciat quare eadem eo quod Idem Samuel Johnson publicæ infamiæ labe ratione præmissorum notatur revocari cassari irritari atque annullari Ipseque ab omnibus sacris Diaconatûs et Presbiteratus ordinibus necnon ab omnibus officiis Ecclesiasticis et spiritualibus omnique Juri Privilegio statu ordine titulo et habitu Clericali deprivari deponi et degradari ac pro mero Laico pronuntiari non debeat in debita Juris forma dicturum allegaturum Ulteriusque facturum et recepturum quod justum fuerit in hac parte Et quid in præmissis fieri mandaverit Reverenda vestra Paternitas de modo et forma execut onis

præsentium Nos debite certificare dignemini una cum præsentibus [(]Datum decimo septimo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini 1686).

Vobis igitur conjunctim et divisim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus quatenus in subsidium Juris et sub mutuæ vicissitudinis obtentu citetis seu citari faciatis peremptorie supramentionatum Samuelem Johnson quod vestibus sacerdot[al]ibus indutus compareat Reverendis in Christo Patribus Commissariis Regiis antedictis in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Divi Pauli London die Sabbati Vicesimo viz<sup>t</sup>. die mensis Novembris instantis inter horas nonam et duodecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei literas suas tam diaconatûs quam Presbiteratûs ordinum exhibiturus et introducturus ac Causam rationabilem et legitimam si quam pro se habeat aut dicere sciat quare eadem eo quod Idem Samuel Johnson publicæ infamiæ labe ratione præmissorum notatur revocari cassari irritari atque annullari Ipseque ab omnibus sacris Diaconatûs et Presbiterûs ordinibus necnon ab omnibus officiis Ecclesiasticis et Spiritualibus omnique juri privilegio s[t]atu ordine, titulo, et habitu Clericali deprivari, deponi, et degradari, et pro mero Laico pronuntiari non debeat in debita juris forma dicturus et allegaturus Ulteriusque facturus et recepturus quod justum fuerit in hac parte Et quid in præmissis feceritis Commissarios Regios antedictos, debite certificetis una cum præsentibus Datum decimo octavo die mensis Novembris

Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo sexto, Nostræque consecrationis Anno Secundo

RI. MORLEY Registrarius

| Petrus Permissione Divina Wintonensis Epis- fo. 91<sup>v</sup>  
copus Reverendis in Christo Patribus et Confrat-  
ribus nostris et Dominis Nathanaeli permissione  
Divina Dunelmensi Episcopo, Thomæ eadem per-  
missione Roffensi Episcopo et Thomæ eadem  
permissione Petriburgensi Episcopo ad exercen-  
dum omnimodam et plenariam Jurisdictionem  
Episcopalem infra Civitatem et Diocesan London  
durante suspensione Domini Henrici<sup>1</sup> London  
Episcopi Commissariis Regiis legitime constitutis,  
Salutem et Fraternitatem† in Domino Charitatem,  
Vobis tenore præsentium significamus, Quod nos  
literas vestras citatorias contra retronominatum  
Samuelem Johnson Clericum nuper recipientes  
literas nostras mandatarias retrospectas emana-  
vimus, quarum quidem vigore pariter et authori-  
tate Johannes Fry Literatus Mandatarius noster  
in hac parte legitime constitutus retronominatum  
Samuelem Johnson die Jovis decimo octavo viz<sup>t</sup>.  
die mensis instantis Novembris in Carcere vocato  
the King's Bench in Burgo de Southwarke in Comi-  
tatu Surriæ et Diocesis nostræ Wintonensis per  
eum personaliter apprehensum in Juris subsidium  
et sub mutuæ vicissitudinis obtentu peremptorie

<sup>1</sup> Henry Compton, born 1632, died 1713; elected bishop of London in 1675. Suspended from his office under James II, he joined in the invitation to the Prince of Orange.

citavit in omnibus et per omnia prout in dicto mandato continetur, ac de et super veritate præmissorum Idem Johannes Fry coram Venerabili Viro Georgio Bramston Legum Doctore Surrogato Venerabilis Viri Caroli Morley Legum Baccalaurei Vicarii nostri in Spiritualibus Generalis et Officialis Principalis legitime constituti decimo nono die mensis Novembris instantis, fecit fidem In cujus Rei Testimonium sigillum Vicarii nostri in Spiritualibus Generalis præsentibus apponi fecimus Datum decimo nono die mensis Novembris prædicti Anno Domini 1686, nostræque Translationis Anno Secundo,

contra dictum Samuelem Johnson præsentem in iudicio, in cujus præsentia dictus Lee dedit allegationem in scriptis conceptam sub hac verborum formula viz<sup>t</sup>. die Sabbati vicesimo viz<sup>t</sup>. die mensis Novembris 1686 inter horas nonam et duodecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei coram Reverendis in Christo Patribus ac Dominis Dominis Nathanaele permissione [divina] Dunelmensi Episcopo, Thoma eadem permissione Roffensi Episcopo, et Thoma eadem permissione Petriburgensi Episcopo ad exercendum omnimodam et plenariam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra Civitatem et Diocesisin London durante suspensione Domini Henrici London Episcopi Commissariis Regiis legitime constitutis in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Divi Pauli London tunc et ibidem pro Tribunali sedentibus præsentem Richardo Newcourt Notario Publico Registrarii Deputato.

Negotium deprivationis sive degradationis Samuelis Johnson Clerici, promotum per Godfredum Lee Notarium Publicum Almæ Curiae Cantuariensis de Archibus London Procuratorium Generalium unum contra Samuelem Johnson, Quibus die et Loco et inter horas nonam et duodecimam comparuit personaliter Godfredus Lee Promotor antedictus ac omni meliori via, modo et Juris forma, necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dixit, allegavit et in his scriptis in jure proposuit articulatim prout sequitur.

1. Imprimis quod præfatus Samuel per hos sexdecem, quindecem, quatuordem †, tredecem [duodecem] undecem decem novem, octo, septem, sex, quinque, quatuor, tres, duos annos seu saltem unum annum elapsum sacros diaconatus et presbiteratus ordines assecutus fuit et est proque Clerico in dictis sacris ordinibus instituto juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fuit et est communiter dictus, tentus, habitus, nominatus et reputatus palam publice et notorie et posuit conjunctim et divisim de quolibet.

2. Item quod præfatus Samuel Johnson infra tempus superius mentionatum de grandibus malegesturis coram Judicibus Secularibus hujus Regni Angliæ in ea parte competentibus secundum Leges et statuta ejusdem Regni detectus et denunciatus fuit et est ac de et super dictis grandibus malegesturis legitime convictus ac pro eisdem ad subeundum pœnam condignam viz<sup>t</sup>. præter Solutionem summæ  
| Pecuniariæ ad standum in et super Pillorio diversis fo. 92\*  
locis in civitate London et suburbiis ejusdem necnon

ad flagellandum per communem Executionarium a Newgate usque ad Furcas de Tyburne condemnatus et adjudicatus fuit et ponit ut supra.

3. Item quod ratione præmissorum præfatus Samuel Johnson publicæ infamiæ labe notatus et Functioni et officio Clericali maxime scandalosus fuit, et est Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item quod præfatus Samuel Johnson Clericus infra tempus superius mentionatum, fuit et in præsentī est Rector Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Curringham in Comitatu Essexiæ et Diocesi London proque tali communiter reputatus ac ratione præmissorum Jurisdictioni hujus Curiae No[tor]ie subditus et ponit ut supra.

5. Item quod præmissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera publica et notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa ac de et super eisdem laboravit et in præsentī laborat publica vox, et fama, Unde facta fide de jure in hac parte requisita petit pars ista proponens jus et justitiam sibi fieri et ministrari cum effectu dictumque Samuelem Johnson propter præmissa ab omnibus sacris Diaconatus et Presbiteratus ordinibus necnon ab omnibus officiis Ecclesiasticis et Spiritualibus omnique jure, Privilegio statu ordine, titulo, ac habitu Clericali deprivari deponi exu[i] degradari ejusque literas tam Diaconatûs quam Presbiteratûs ordinum revocari, cassari, irritari atque annullari proque nullis cassis, irritis et invalidis, eundemque Samuelem Johnson esse merum Laicum ac pro mero Laico de futuro habendum, tenendum, et reputandum fore pronuntiari decerni et declarari ad omnem

juris effectum, eundemque Samuelem Johnson pro sic deprivato, deposito, exuto, et degradato ac pro mero Laico seculari Brachio ad subeundum pœnas prædictas remitti, non arctans se ad omnia et singula præmissa probanda sed quatenus probaverit in præmissis, eatinus obtineat in petitis officium Dominorum judicantium humiliter implorando, Thomas Pinfold, quam petiit admitti et obtulit probationes adstatim, qua allegatione de mandato dictorum Dominorum Episcoporum per me Registrarij Deputatum prædictum perlecta Domini admiserunt, dictam allegationem quatenus de jure sit admittenda, et assignavit Lee terminum ad probandum adstatim, tunc dictus Lee allegavit dictum Samuelem Johnson (inter alia) fuisse citatum ad exhibendum suas literas tam Diaconatus quam Presbiteratus ordinum et petijt eum arctari ad exhibendum easdem adstatim, et Domini ad ejus petitionem monuerunt dictum Johnson, ad exhibendum easdem adstatim et dictus Johnson respondebat, that he had not his orders about him, deinde dictus Lee in subsidium probationis contentorum in dicta allegatione, exhibuit duas schedulas in papyro scriptas quarum prima sic incipit viz<sup>t</sup>. Placita coram Domino Rege Westmonasterium &c. et sic terminat, quousque finem prædictum solverit, altera vero sic incipit e Registro Domini Episcopi London extracta et sic terminat Archidiacono Essexiæ &c. et allegavit dicta respective exhibita fuisse et esse e Registrariis sive officijs in eisdem respective mentionatis fideliter extracta ac concordare cum eorum originalibus ibidem remanen-

tibus, omniaque et singula contenta in eisdem respective fuisse ac esse vera, ac ita acta habita, gesta et exhibita prout in eisdem continetur, ac Samuelem Johnson in eisdem respective exhibitis mentionatum, ac Samuelem Johnson presentem in iudicio ac partem in hoc negotio fuisse ac esse unam et eandem personam et non diversam, quæ allegationem et exhibita posuit conjunctim et divisim eademque admitti petiit ac jus &c. Unde Domini perlectis prius de eorum mandato dictis respective exhibitis, quarum prima sequitur sub hoc verborum tenore viz<sup>t</sup>. Placita coram Domino Rege apud Westmonasterium | de termino Sanctæ Trinitatis anno Regni Domini Jacobi secundi nunc Regis Angliæ secundo. Intrata placita Regis Rotulo 74.

fo. 92<sup>v</sup>Sur. fs  
in m

Memorandum quod Robertus Sawyer<sup>1</sup> miles attornatus Domini Regis nunc generalis qui pro eodem Domino Rege, in hac parte sequitur in propria persona sua venit hic in Curia dicti Domini Regis coram Ipso Rege apud Westmonasterium die Veneris proximo post crastinum Sanctæ Trinitatis isto eodem termino et pro eodem Domino Rege protulit hic in Curia dicti Domini Regis coram Ipso Domino Rege tunc et ibidem quandam informationem versus Samuelem Johnson nuper de parochia Sancti Georgij Southwark in Comitatu Surriæ Clericum, quæ quidem informatio sequitur in hæc verba ss sur.

Ss surr

Memorandum quod Robertus Sawyer Miles Attor-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Sawyer, born 1633, died 1692; Speaker in 1678; Attorney-General in 1681 and counsel for the seven bishops in 1688.

natus Domini Regis nunc generalis, qui pro eodem Domino Rege in hac parte sequitur in propria sua persona venit hic in Curia Domini Regis, coram ipso Rege apud Westmonasterium die Veneris proximo post crastinum Sanctæ Trinitatis isto eodem termino et pro eodem Domino Rege dat Curiam hic intelligi et informari quod Samuel Johnson nuper de parochia Sancti Georgii Southwarke in Comitatu Surriæ Clericus existens homo perniciosus, factiosus et seditiosus ac persona impiæ, inquietæ et turbulentæ dispositionis, ac machinas practicans false et malitiose nequitur, et seditiose intendens pare[t] et communem tranquil[l]i[ta]tem hujus Regni Angliæ inquietare, molestare, perturbare, et rebellionem, commotionem et seditionem ac discordiam cum malevolentia inter Capitanos, locumtenentes et alios Officiarios Bellicosos et Milites, Anglice, Souldiers dicti Domini Regis ac etiam inter dictum Dominum Regem et alios Legios et fideles subditos ipsius Domini Regis hujus Regni Angliæ excitare, movere et procurare et gubernationem hujus regni Angliæ in maximum odium et vilipendium inducere et inferre ac ad nequi[s]simas nefandissimas et diabolicas machinationes practicaciones intentiones suas prædictas perimplendas perficiendas et ad effectum redigendi †, idem Samuel vicesimo quinto die Maij Anno Regni Domini Jacobi Secundi Dei Gratia Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis Fidei Defensoris &c. secundo vi et armis &c. apud parochiam Sancti Georgii Southwark in Comitatu Surriæ falso illicite injuste, nequitur, malitiose scandalose

et seditiose fecit, composuit impressit et publicavit et fieri, componi imprimi et publicari causavit quoddam falsum, malitiosum scandalosum, defamatorium et seditiosum libellum, impressum inititulatum An humble and hearty address to all the English protestants in this present Army, in quo quidem falso libelloso scandaloso et seditioso libello (inter alia) contentæ fuerunt hæ falsæ maliciosæ seditiosæ libellosæ et scandalosæ sententiæ in hijs Anglicanis verbis sequentes viz<sup>t</sup>.

Gentlemen next to the Duty which you owe to God, which ought to be the principall care of men of your Profession especially because you carry your lives in your hands and often look death in the face, the second thing which deserves your consideration is the service of your native country wherein you drew your first breath, and breathed  
fo. 92 | a free English air now I would have you to consider how well you comply with these two main points, by engageing in this present service, is it in the name of God and for his service that you have joyned yourselves with Papists who will indeed fight for the Massbooke but burne the Bible and who seeke to extirpate the Protestant religion with your Swords because they cannot doe it with their owne, and will you be aiding and assisting to sett up Masshouses to erect that Popish Kingdom of Darkness and desolation amongst us and to traine up all our children in Popery, how can you doe these things and call yourselves Protestants and then what service can

be done your Country, by being under the command of French and Irish Papists, and by bringing the nation under Forraigne Yoak, will you help them to make forcible entry into the houses of your Country men, under the name of quartering directly contrary to Magna Charta and the petition of right, will you be aiding and assisting to all the murders and outrages which they shall commit by their void Commissions, which were declared illegall and sufficiently blasted by both houses of Parliament (it † there had been any need of it) for it was very well known before that a Papist cannot have a Commission but by the Law is utterly disabled and disarmed, will you exchange your birthright of English Lawes and liberties for martiall or Clubb Law and help to destroy all others only to be eaten last yourselves. If I know you well as you are Englishmen, you hate and scorne these things and therefore be not unequally Yok'd with idolatrous and bloody Papists, be valiant for the truth and shew yourselves men the same considerations are likewise humbly offered to all the English Seamen who have been the Bullwarke of this nation against Popery and Slavery ever since Eighty Eight.<sup>1</sup>

Et Ulterius idem Attornatus dicti Domini nunc Generalis pro eodem Domino Rege dat Curiam hic

<sup>1</sup> This is the paper thrown about in the army on Hounslow Heath, and reprinted by Samuel Johnson, in *A Second Five Years' Struggle against Popery and Tyranny*, London, Richard Baldwin, 1689, p. 110. See below, p. 90.

intelligi et informari quod prædictus Samuel Johnson ad nequissimas nefandissimas et Diabolicas Machinationes Practicationes et intentiones suas prædictas citius perimplendas perficiendas et ad effectum redigendi postea scilicet dicto Vicesimo quinto die Maij Anno Regni dicti Domini Regis nunc Secundo superdicto, vi et armis &c. apud prædictam parochiam dicti Sancti Georgii Southwarke in comitatu Surriæ prædicto false, illicite injuste nequitur malitiose seditiose et scandalose fecit, composuit impressit et publicavit et fieri componi, imprimi, et publicari causavit quoddam alium falsum malitiosum scandalosum deformatorium et seditiosum libellum impressum, intitulatum viz<sup>t</sup>.

The opinion is that resistance may be used in case our Religion and rights should be invaded.

In contemptu Legum hujus Regni Angliæ manifestum in malum exemplum omnium aliorum in tali casu delinquentium ac contra partem dicti Domini Regis nunc coronam et dignitatem suas &c. Unde Idem Attornatus Domini Regis nunc Generalis pro eodem Domino Rege petit advisamentum Curiae hic in præmissis et debitos legis processus versus præfatum Samuelem Johnson in hac parte fieri ad respondendum dicto Domino Rege de et in præmissis &c. per quod præceptum fuit vice-comiti Comitatus Surriæ prædicti quod non omittat &c. quin venire fac[iat] eum ad respondendum et modo scilicet die Veneris proximo post Crastinum Sanctæ Trinitatis isto eodem termino coram Domino Rege apud Westmonasterium venit prædictus Samuel Johnson

per Johannem Goddin Attornatum suum et habito auditu informationum prædictarum dicit quod ipse | non est inde culpabilis et de hoc ponit se supra fo. 92<sup>v</sup>\* patriam et Robertus Sawyer Miles Attornatus Domini Regis nunc Generalis qui pro eodem Domino Rege in hac parte sequitur scilicet &c. Ideo Ven' inde Jur' coram dicto Domino Rege in curia ipsius Regis coram ipso Rege apud Westmonasterium die Lunæ proximo post tres Septimanas Sanctæ Trinitatis per quos &c. et qui &c. ad recogn' &c. quia tam &c. idem dies datus est tam præfato Roberto Sawyer Militi qui sequitur &c. quam prædicto Samueli Johnson &c. ad quem quidem &c. diem Lunæ proximum post tres Septimanas Sanctæ Trinitatis coram dicto Domino Rege apud Westmonasterium venerunt tam præfati Robertus Sawyer Miles qui sequitur &c. quam prædictus Samuel Johnson per Attornatum suum prædictum et jur' jurat prædictum unde supra fit mentio exacta scilicet Vener' super quo facta hic in Curia publica proclamatio pro Domino Rege prout moris est quod si aliquis sit qui dictum Dominum Regem nunc Servientes dicti Domini Regis ad Legem aut Attornatum Generalem ipsius Domini Regis vel jur' jure prædict' de præmissis vellet informare vellet<sup>1</sup> veniret et audiretur et super hoc Thomas Jones Armiger unus de consiliariis dicti Domini Regis ex parte dicti Domini Regis ad hoc faciendum se obtulit super quo processum est per Curiam hic ad capiendum jur' prædict' per Juramentum prædictum, modo comparendum qui ad veritatem de præmissis

<sup>1</sup> Inserted between the lines.

prædictis dicendam electi triati et jurati dicant super sacrum † suum quod prædictus Samuel Johnson est culpabilis de præmissis in informatione prædicta superius specificata modo et forma per informationem prædictam superius versus eum supponitur super quo visis et per Curiam hic intellectis omnibus et singulis præmissis consideratum est, quod prædictus Samuel Johnson solvat Domino Regi summam quingentarum mercarum pro fine suo super ipsum occatione prædicta imposito et quod prædictus Samuel Johnson stabit in et super Pillorio in Atrio Palatij Westmonasteriensis die lunæ proximo post Octabas Sancti Martini prædicti inter horas decimam et duodecimam ejusdem diei per spatium unius horæ et quod prædictus Samuel Johnson stabit in et super Pillorio apud Charing Cross die mercurij proximo post Octabas Sancti Martini inter horas decimam et duodecimam ejusdem diei per spatium unius horæ et quod Marrescallus hujus Curiae deliberet præfatum Samuelem Johnson Vicecomiti Middlesexiae ad exequendum judicium prædictum et post executionem judicij prædicti Idem Vicecomes redeliberet præfatum Samuelem Johnson prædicto Marrescallo hujus Curiae salvo custodiendum Et quod præfatus Samuel Johnson stabit in et super Pillorio apud Regale excambium in Cornhill London Die Lunæ proximo post quindenae Sancti Martini inter horas duodecimam ante meridiem et secundam post meridiem ejusdem diei per spatium unius horæ. Et quod præfatus Samuel Johnson flagelletur per communem carnificem die Mercurii primo die

Decembris proximo futuro a Newgate infra civitatem London usque ad furcas de Tyburne in Comitatu Middlesexia, Et quod præfatus Marrescallus hujus Curia deliberet præfatum Samuelem Johnson Vicecomitibus London ad exequendum judicium prædictum et post executionem judicij prædicti Idem Vicecomites London redeliberent præfatum Samuelem Johnson Marrescallo prædicto, salvo custodiendum et quod præfatus Samuel Johnson committitur Marrescallo hujus Curia in executione salvo custodiendus quousque finem | prædictum solverit.

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Secunda vero sub hoc verborum tenore viz<sup>t</sup>. E Registro Domini Episcopi London extracta. Coringham Rectoria primo die mensis Martij Anno Domini 1669 Juxta &c. Samuel Johnson Clericus in Artibus Baccalaureus per Dominum Episcopum antedictum in ædibus suis Londinensibus præsentate Richardo Newcourte Notario Publico Registrarii Deputato Ad Rectoriam Ecclesiae parochialis de Coringham in Comitatu Essexiae Diocesis London per mortem Cacott ultimi incumbenti[s]<sup>1</sup> ibidem vocandus et ad præsentationem Roberti Biddolph generosi veri et indubitati ejusdem Patroni pleno jure (ut asserebatur) spectandus admissus et institutus fuit ac in et de eadem cum suis juribus membris et pertinentiis universis investitus subscriptis prius per eundem Samuelem Johnson articulis religionis &c. præstititque † juramentis allegiantiae &c. ac etiam Canonicae

<sup>1</sup> John Cacott, the rector of Coringham, whom Johnson succeeded, appears to have been appointed during the interregnum (Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, London, 1710, ii. 194).

obedientiæ &c. Et quod nulla Symoniaca pravitate et acceptata &c. scriptum fuit Domino Archidiacono Essex concordat cum Registro facta collatione per me Ed: Cooke Notarium Publicum admiserunt dicta allegationem et exhibita quatenus de jure admittenda tunc Lee super eisdem produxit in testes<sup>1</sup> ward et Edvardum Cooke Notarium Publicum et Domini eos juramento onerârunt de fideliter deponendo et dictus Ward juratus deposuit

that the first schedule is a true copy and was compar'd by him with the originall and agrees with the same and that Samuel Johnson mentioned in the said schedule and Samuel Johnson now present in Court and party in this cause is one and the same person and not divers

vel ad eundem effectum et dictus Cooke juratus deposuit

that the said second schedule is faithfully extracted out of the Registry of the Bishop of London and was by him compar'd with his originall act their † remaining and is [a] true copy and agrees with the same

vel ad similem Effectum. tunc Domini Episcopi antedicti interrogarunt dictum Johnson

whether he can shew any cause why he should not be degraded

quibus dictus Johnson respondebat

that by the 122. Canon<sup>2</sup> no sentence of depriva-

<sup>1</sup> There is a like blank in MS. Tanner 30 for the Christian name.

<sup>2</sup> 'CXXII. No Sentence of Deprivation or Deposition to be pronounced against a Minister, but by the Bishop—'. . . no

tion or disposition could be pronounced against a Minister [but] by the Bishop of the Diocess to which he did belong or to that effect and that he could not see the Bishop of his Diocess there or to that effect and offered seuerall other things which their Lordships over-rul'd to be of no purpose and told them † that they were satisfied as to their Jurisdiction and that he ought to be so too his Majesties Commission whereby they were impowered to exercise all manner of Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in and throughout the Diocess of London during the suspension of the present Bishop of the same haveing been read at the begining of the Court of his hearing or to the like effect

deinde Lee petiit terminum assignari ad audiendum sententiam ex prima assignatione adstatim et idem adstatim et Domini Episcopi antedicti assignârunt ad ejus petitionem ad audiendum sententiam et ad idem statim tunc Lee porrexit sententiam in scriptis conceptam quam petiit ferri ac jus et justitiam sibi fieri ad cujus petitionem Domini Episcopi assignârunt mihi Registrario antedicto ad perlegendam sententiam prædictam qua per me perlecta sub tenore verborum sequentium viz<sup>t</sup>.

such sentence shall be pronounced by any person whosoever, but only by the bishop, with the assistance of his chancellor, the dean, (if they may conveniently be had) and some of the prebendaries, if the court be kept near the cathedral church, or of the archdeacon, if he may be had conveniently, and two other at the least grave ministers and preachers to be called by the bishop, when the court is kept in other places' (Edw. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, Oxford, 1842, i. 316, Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of 1604). See above, pp. 74-5.

fo. 93<sup>v</sup>

In Dei Nomine Amen auditis visis et intellectis ac plenarie et mature per nos Nathanaelem permissione Divina Dunelmensi † | Episcopum Thomam eadem permissione Roffensem Episcopum et Thomam eadem permissione Petriburgensem Episcopum ad exercendum omnimodam Jurisdictionem infra Civitatem et Diocessin London durante suspensione Domini Henrici London Episcopi Commissarios Regios legitime constitutos Meritis et circumstantiis cujusdam negotij officij meri et desuper deprivatione sive degradatione Samuelis Johnson Clerici sacris Diaconatûs et Presbiteratûs ordinibus insigniti ac Rectoriæ Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Corringham alias Curringham in comitatu Essexiæ et Diocessis London prædictæ quod coram nobis in judicio inter Godfredum Lee Notarium Publicum partem officium nostrum ad assignationem nostram promoventem ex unâ et præfatum Samuelem Johnson Clericum partem contra quam hujusmodi negotium promovetur partibus ex altera aliquandiu vertebatur et pendebat vertiturque adhuc et pendet indecissime et legitime procedentes præfatoque Godfredo Lee Promotore officij nostri prædicti sententiam ferri et justitiam fieri pro parte sua instanter postulante et petente præfato vero Samuele Johnson petente ut non degradetur Rimatoque per Nos toto et integro processu coram Nobis in hujusmodi negotio habito et facto et diligenter recensito servatisque per Nos de jure in hac parte servandis ad nostræ sententiæ Definitivæ † sive nostri finalis decreti prolationem in hoc negotio ferendam sic duximus procedendum fore

et procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia per acta inactitata deducta exhibita pariter et probata in hujusmodi negotio comperimus luculenter et invenimus Godfrædum Lee Promotionem officij nostri prædicti intentionem suam quibusdam allegatione et exhibitas alias coram Nobis datis exhibitis et præmissis præsentibusque annexis (que allegationem et exhibita pro hic lectis et insertis habemus et haberi volumus) sufficienter et ad plenum fundâsse pariter et probâsse nihilque effectuale per præfatum Samuelem Johnson fuisse ac esse in hac parte exceptum deductum propositum exhibitum allegatum probatum seu confessatum quod intentionem dicti Godfredi Lee Promotoris prædicti in hac parte elideret seu quomodolibet enervaret Idcirco Nos Episcopi antedicti Christi nomine primitus invocato ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris proponendum et habendum deque et cum consilio Jurisperitorum [(]cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus matureque declaravimus) præfatum Samuelem Johnson annis in hac parte allegatis eorum annorum quolibet pluribus uno sive aliquo fuisse et esse Clericum et sacris Diaconatûs et Presbiteratûs ordinibus juxta Ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ insignitum ac Rectorem Ecclesiæ parochialis de Corringham alias Curringham prædictæ proque Clerico sacris Diaconatûs et Presbiteratûs insignito ac pro Rectore de Corringham alias Curringham prædicto communiter dictum tentum habitum et reputatum fuisse ac esse necnon infra tempus prædictum grandia malegestura nequiter commisisse

fo. 93

et perpetrâsse et de et super eisdem coram iudicibus secularibus hujus inclyti Regni Angliæ in ea parte competentibus secundum leges et statuta ejusdem | Regni detectum et denunciatum fuisse et esse, deque et super eisdem grandibus malegesturis legitime convictum proque eisdem ad subeundum poenam condignam viz<sup>t</sup>. (præter solutionem summæ pecuniariæ) ad standum in et super Pillorio, in diversis locis in Civitate London et suburbiis ejusdem, nec non ad flagellandum per communem Executionarium a Newgate usque ad furcas de Tyburne condemnatum et adjudicatum fuisse et esse, prout coram nobis per probationes legitimas, hic in Curia judicialiter factas, liquet et apparet, pronunciamus et declaramus, eoque intuitu, præfatum Samuelem Johnson, publicæ infamiæ labe notatum et functioni et officio suo Clericali maxime scandalosum, fuisse et esse pronuntiamus decernimus et declaramus, Ad tollendum igitur omnem infamiæ labem, et scandalum quod ratione præmissorum criminis et poenæ tam in sacros Diaconatus et Presbiteratus ordines, quam in ipsam Ecclesiam Christi infra hoc regnum quoquomodo vergit seu vergere potuit aut potest in futurum, Assistentibus Nobis Venerabilibus Viris Domino Thoma Exton<sup>1</sup> Milite Legum Doctore Domini Episcopi Londinensis Vicario in Spiritualibus generali, et Officiali principali legitime constituto, Gregorio Hascard Sacræ Theologiæ Professore, Ecclesiæ Sancti Georgii Windsor Decano, Gulielmo

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Exton, born 1631, died 1688. Sat for the university of Cambridge and was master of Trinity Hall.

Holder,<sup>1</sup> Roberto Grove,<sup>2</sup> Gulielmo Sherlock,<sup>3</sup> Johanne Scott,<sup>4</sup> Sacrae Theologiae Professoribus, Ecclesiae Cathedralis Divi Pauli Londinensis Prebendariis, Henrico Dove<sup>5</sup> Sacrae Theologiae Professore, Vicario Ecclesiae Sanctae Bridgettæ London et Gulielmo Cave Sacrae Theologiae Professore Vicario Sanctae Mariæ Islington et Francisco Bridge Rectore Sanctae Mildred Breadstreet London, præfatum Samuelem Johnson ab omnibus sacris Diaconatûs et Presbiteratûs ordinibus juxta ritus Ecclesiae Anglicanae alias per eundem susceptis necnon ab omnibus officiis Ecclesiasticis et spiritualibus, omnique Jure, privilegio, statu, ordine, titulo et habitu Clericali deprivandum deponendum, exeundem † et realiter degradandum fore debere pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, sicque in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, deprivamus, deponimus, Exuimus et degradamus, ejusque literas tam Diaconatûs quam Presbiteratûs Ordinum, revocamus, cassamus, irritamus, atque annullamus, proque cassis irritis, et invalidis, eundemque Samuelem

<sup>1</sup> William Holder, born 1616, died 1698. Was a prebendary of St. Paul's and subdean of the chapel royal in this year.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Grove, born 1634, died 1696. Was a prebendary of St. Paul's at this time, afterwards bishop of Chichester 1691-6.

<sup>3</sup> William Sherlock, born 1641 ? died 1707. Was a prebendary of St. Paul's at this time. At the revolution he took the oaths and was made dean of St. Paul's in 1691.

<sup>4</sup> John Scott, born 1639, died 1695. Was a prebendary of St. Paul's at this time.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Dove, born 1640, died 1695. Archdeacon of Richmond in 1678 and court chaplain.

Johnson esse merum Laicum, proque mero Laico de futuro tenendum, habendum, et reputandum fore ad omnem juris effectum pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, proque sic deprivato deposito et exuto, realiterque degradato ac pro mero Laico, eundem Samuelem Johnson seculari Brachio ad Subeundum pœnas prædictas remittimus per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam sive hoc nostrum finale decretum quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

N. DUNELM THO: ROFFEN THO PETRIBURGENS THO EXTON, GREG: HASCARD WILL: HOLDER, ROB: GROVE W<sup>m</sup> SHERLOCK W<sup>m</sup> CAVE HEN DOVE, FRAN BRIDGE Lecta, lata et promulgata fuit hæc sententia per dominos Episcopos suprascriptos Die Sabbati vicesimo viz<sup>t</sup>. die mensis Novembris anno domini 1686 inter horas nonam et undecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei, in domo Capitulari, Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Divi Pauli Londinensis presentibus ut in Actis, dicti Domini Episcopi necnon Venerabiles Viri præfati Decanus de Windsor et diversi alij Præbendarij dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, et Incumbentes infra Diœcesin Londinensem eorum nomina et cognomina eidem sententiæ subscripserunt, et inactitata fuit dicta sententia per me Registrarium Deputatum antedictum, prout per eandem plenius liquet et apparet, deinde dictus Johnson adstatim a gravitate et nullitate dictæ sententiæ adstatim Illustrissimo in Christo Principi, et Domino nostro Regi, et ad eum in ejus suprema Curia Cancellariæ Angliæ appellavit, sed domini noluerunt deferre appellationi,

et assignarunt ei Apostolos<sup>1</sup> refutatorios, tunc dictus Lee petijt dictam sententiam, demandari executioni adstatim, et Domini eandem ad ejus petitionem executioni demandarunt adstatim, tunc biblia sacra et Evangelium in manibus, dicti Samuelis Johnson per Christopherum Cleeter Apparitorem principalem posita, dictus Samuel Johnson eandem dicto Cleeter de mandato dictorum Dominorum Episcoporum retradidit, et ejus Cappa, toga, et cingulo Canonico, assistente dicto Cleeter, de mandato dictorum Dominorum Episcoporum exutis ijdem Domini Episcopi, Officiariis secularibus tunc et ibidem attendentibus dictum Samuelem Johnson tradiderunt, deliberarunt et remiserunt super quibus omnibus et singulis præfatus Godfredus Lee requisivit Me Richardum Newcourt Notarium Publicum antedictum ad conficiendum unum vel plura instrumentum vel instrumenta, publicum sive publica ac testes tunc et ibidem præsentis testimonium exinde perhibere præsentibus tunc et ibidem una mecum Notario Publico Subscripto, Venerabilibus Viris Carolo Hedges et | Stephano Brice Legum respective fo. 93<sup>v</sup> Doctoribus Almæ Curia Cantuariensis de Archibus Londinensis Advocatorum Generalium duobus et Thoma Tyllott Notario Publico ejusdem Almæ Curia Cantuariensis procuratorum Generalium uno, cum multis alijs testibus fide-dignis Ita Testor Richardus Newcourt Notarius Publicus. Ex[plicit]

<sup>1</sup> A word used in the canon law, meaning letters or summons (see Ducange, *sub voce*). The bishops, refusing his appeal to the king in chancery, ordered a document to be given to him denying his right to appeal.

It may be noticed how closely (with one important exception) the commissioners adhered to the directions of the canon law :

Clericus igitur degradandus, vestibus sacris indutus, in manibus habens librum, vas, vel aliud instrumentum seu ornamentum ad ordinem suum spectans, ac si deberet in officio suo solemniter ministrare, ad episcopi praesentiam adducatur, cui episcopus publice singula, sive sint vestes, calix, liber, seu quaevis alia, quae illi iuxta morem ordinandorum clericorum in sua ordinatione ab episcopo fuerint tradita seu collata, singulariter auferat.<sup>1</sup>

The Bible and the Gospels which had been delivered at ordination as priest and deacon respectively (the *liber* of the canon law) were taken away from the hands of Samuel Johnson ; his *vestes sacerdotales*, in which he was summoned to appear, are reckoned as the *Cappa, toga, et cingulum canonicum*. The document declares that after the degradation Samuel Johnson was *merus laicus* and no longer a clerk. Thus the three bishops do not sustain the usual western teaching that Orders are indelible.

Another account of the degradation is given in the Memorials prefixed to the edition of Samuel Johnson's *Works* :

<sup>1</sup> *Sexti Decretal.*, lib. v. tit. ix. cap. ii.

After which they proceeded to degrade him, by putting a Square Cap on his Head, and then taking it off ; by pulling off his Gown and Girdle, which he demanded as his proper Goods bought with his Mony : which they promis'd to send him, but he cou'd not get 'em till he paid Twenty Shillings. Then they put a Bible into his Hands, which he not parting with readily, they took it from him by Force. That on the 22d of *November* the Judgment in the *King's Bench* began to be executed with great Rigour and Cruelty ; that Mr. *Rouse* the Under-Sheriff tore off his Cassock on the Pillory, and put a Frize Coat upon him.<sup>1</sup>

Johnson must have appeared in a cassock to undergo the pillory, and his having such a clothing lends some colour to the statement that he was not stripped of that part of his dress at the degradation ; for he could hardly have recovered it from the servants of the court so soon as 22 November unless, indeed, he had provided himself with another for this occasion. The wearing of the cassock during the pillory would have completely brought to nought the aim of the degradation, namely, that a clergyman should not seem to suffer so infamous a punishment.

From the same source we have further details of the degradation :

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of the Late Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnson*, London, 1710, 'Some Memorials,' p. xv.

Mr. *Johnson's* Behaviour on this occasion was observ'd to be so becoming that very Character his Enemys wou'd have depriv'd him of, that it melted some of their Hearts, and forc'd them to acknowledg there was something very valuable in him. Among other things which he said to the Divines then present, he told them in the most pathetick manner, *It cou'd not but grieve him to think, that since all he had writ was design'd to keep their Gowns on their backs, they shou'd be made the unhappy Instruments to pull off his : And begg'd them to consider, whether they were not making Rods for themselves.* When they came to the Formality of putting a Bible in his hand, and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted with it with difficulty, kissing it, and saying, with tears, *That they cou'd not however deprive him of the Use and Benefit of that Sacred Depositum.* It happen'd they were guilty of an Omission, in not stripping him of his Cassock, which as slight a particular as it might seem, render'd his Degradation imperfect, and afterwards sav'd him his Benefice.<sup>1</sup>

But on the arrival of the prince of Orange in England, the friends of Samuel Johnson returned to power, and the House of Commons was invoked by them on his behalf and the following resolutions were adopted :

*Resolved,* That the Judgment against *Sam. Johnson* in the King's Bench, upon an Information for a Misdemeanor, was cruel and illegal.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xii.

*Resolved*, That a Bill be brought in, to reverse that Judgment.

*Resolved*, That the same Committee do prepare and bring in the Bill.

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed, to inquire how Mr. *Johnson* came to be degraded and by what authority it was done.<sup>1</sup>

On 24 June following, the committee reported much in the same sense as regards facts as the documents cited above, and that Johnson's deprivation was illegal, null, and void. Thereupon the House

*Resolved* That the House doth agree with the Committee, That the Ecclesiastical Commission was illegal ; and that, consequently, the Suspension of the Bishop of *London*, and the Authority committed to the aforesaid Three Bishops, was null and illegal.<sup>2</sup>

Further it was

*Resolved*, That the House doth agree with the Committee, That Mr. *Johnson* not being sentenced, deprived, and degraded, by the Bishop of *London* (if he had deserved the same) was illegal.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noticed that the House of Commons did not base its resolution that the degradation of Samuel Johnson was illegal upon the fact that his cassock had not been stripped off him, but because he had not been degraded by the

<sup>1</sup> *The Journals of the House of Commons*, x. 177, 11 June, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

bishop in whose diocese he held a living ; which is a more reasonable foundation for their resolution than the other, and in accordance with the canon law, cited above, which declares that the degradation is to be performed by the clerk's *proprius episcopus*, even if a certain number of other bishops be present and concur.

Richard Newcourt, whose name appears more than once in the document printed above, tells us that Johnson was commonly called ' Julian Johnson,' and that his deprivation and degradation

at last signify'd nothing, for after the Revolution, he restor'd himself both to his Orders and this Living, [Coringham] which he enjoy'd till his Death, [1703] without the help of any publick and legal Authority, his Successor, the said *Tho. Berrow*, leaving it out of Fear, soon after he was admitted to it.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem that Newcourt's statement that Johnson returned to his living without any legal authority may be accepted. Being a proctor-general of the arches and notary public his means of information would be good ; Johnson does not seem to have resided upon his benefice either before or after his degradation.<sup>2</sup>

Johnson's character seems to have been wanting in many phases. Macaulay, who,

<sup>1</sup> *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, ii. 194.

<sup>2</sup> ' Some Memorials,' in Johnson's *Works*, quoted above, pp. iii and xviii.

from his politics, would be inclined to take as favourable a view as could be of a man to whom a large share in bringing about the revolution is attributed, yet sums up thus :

Johnson, though brave, honest, and religious, had always been rash, mutinous, and quarrelsome ; and, since he had endured for his opinions a martyrdom more terrible than death, the infirmities of his temper and understanding had increased to such a degree that he was as disagreeable to Low Churchmen as to High Churchmen.<sup>1</sup>

It may be remarked that Johnson did not suffer martyrdom 'for his opinions,' but for his attempt to stir up mutiny among the King's soldiers. In actual warfare he would most likely have been led at once to the nearest tree by the provost-marshal. Macaulay adds that it was thought that Johnson was mad, and King William, though asked by the Commons to give him preferment, yet hesitated 'to place an eccentric and irritable man in a situation of dignity and public trust.' Mr. Alexander Gordon states that the deanery of Durham was offered to Johnson,<sup>2</sup> and it may be another mark of his insanity if he refused this piece of great preferment as not equal to his services.

<sup>1</sup> T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. xiv., 1855, iii. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, *sub voce* Samuel Johnson.

## BLESSING OF THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALL

*The Rite used by Thomas Cranmer in blessing the pall delivered by him to Holgate Archbishop of York, transcribed and annotated from Cranmer's Register at Lambeth*<sup>1</sup>

THE gift of an *omophorion* by a Russian bishop to the Archbishop of York during his journey in Russia brought the connexion of the eastern *omophorion* with the western *pallium* into some notice. It seems unlikely that any antiquary at the present day will doubt that they are the same vestment;<sup>2</sup> it is true the western *pallium* has undergone changes in shape, arrangement, and length, if not also in material, while the eastern *omophorion* would

<sup>1</sup> Edited in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, September 1898, Vol. XV, pp. 121-141. Collotypes of the passage in the Register accompany that edition.

<sup>2</sup> The famous Morinus (*Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus*, pars. ii. Adnotationes in Graecas Ordinationes 19. Parisiis, 1655, p. 220) says that the pall is not the same as the omophorion; but there are few authors who have followed this opinion.

seem to be still almost identical with the scarf which we see on the consul in the ivory diptychs of the fifth and sixth centuries : it is akin also to the earlier scarves seen on the base of a pillar in the forum at Rome, attributed by some to the third or fourth century, and to the scarves on the figures of the arch of Constantine, to be seen in a horizontal bas-relief on the right-hand side of the observer as he stands with his back to the 'Meta sudans.' Similar scarves may be seen in some of the sarcophagi in the Christian museum of the Lateran,<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere.

A late painting, perhaps of the seventeenth century, still exists in the Coptic church of Abu Sargah, showing St. Michael in a scarf arranged like those of the consular diptych, but marked with crosses.<sup>2</sup> There are indeed much earlier western representations of angels in *pallia*. In the ancient church underneath the basilica of St. Clement in Rome there are angels on each side of our Lord, with *omophoria*, while an attendant prelate wears the western

<sup>1</sup> See Nos. 104, 178, 184. See also Joachim Marquart und Theodor Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, Bd. vii. Das Privatleben der Römer, Th. ii. Leipzig, 1882, p. 545. Fred. W. Madden, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1861, new series, vol. i. p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884, vol. ii. p. 159.

*pallium*.<sup>1</sup> In the well-known prae-Norman manuscript, Nero C. iv. in the British Museum, there is, on leaf 30, a picture of angels wearing *pallia*. In the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, a figure wears a *pallium* with *Scs. Benedictus Abbas* written on the *pallium* itself.<sup>2</sup> SS. Gregory and Cuthbert, standing on each side of St. Benedict, have *pallia* of the same shape. The artist seems to use the *pallium* or *omophorion* in some cases as a mark of dignity merely.

But at the present time, and for centuries past, the *pallium* has been restricted to bishops. In the east, the *omophorion* is now the special episcopal ornament given to each bishop at the time of his consecration ; while in the west, though the *pallium* is also limited to bishops, and called the fulness of the episcopal office, yet it is chiefly given to metropolitans and archbishops, and rarely to simple bishops. In the East, every bishop has a right to the *omophorion*. In the west, the *pallium* cannot be claimed as a right ; it is a mark of favour from the Roman pontiff, and is only given to those bishops whom the Roman Curia delights to honour.

<sup>1</sup> A photograph may be found in Joseph Mullooly, *St. Clement Pope and Martyr*, Rome, 1873, opposite p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, 1832, vol. xxiv. plate iii. p. 48.

The *omophorion* or pall, given by the Russians to the Archbishop of York, was one long strip of cloth of silver, lined at the back with white silk, thirteen feet five inches long, and ten inches broad throughout, bordered on each side of the entire length with gold lace an inch and a quarter broad. It can be laid flat on a plane surface,<sup>1</sup> and when thus laid, about one half of the upper surface shows cloth of silver, while the under surface is white silk, and the remaining half of the upper surface is white silk, while the under surface is cloth of silver. In other words, the disposition of the two materials is reversed about the midst of the vestment. This reversal of the two fabrics is brought about by the disposition of the vestment round the neck. The part which hangs down in front to the feet passes up over the left shoulder, behind the neck, over the right shoulder, and then down to the centre of the chest, where it is reversed before passing up again over the shoulder to hang down behind the back. The part which hangs in front is 83 inches long up to the place in front of the chest where it is reversed ; and the part which falls behind is 78 inches from the same place of reversion.

<sup>1</sup> It has been called " *longissima stola*."

The vestment is embroidered with four crosses, and on the longer piece of cloth of silver there is also a star which comes immediately behind the neck. This star is now universal in the Russian *omophoria*. There are also three fringes of gold at the end of each portion of the *omophorion*.

There are golden buttons and loops attached to the edges of the *omophorion* by means of which it is fastened so that it will hang in its proper shape. There are also two buttons behind to fasten it to the *saccos*, and one in front to keep the *omophorion* straight in its place.

It will be noticed that the eastern *omophorion* has preserved two characters which the modern western *pallium* has lost, but which appear in the arms of the see of Canterbury of the present day ; viz. a fringe at the end of the *pallium*, and a border along its breadth. A fringe is seen in the western *pallium* after it has ceased to be a scarf and assumed its present shape of a circlet round the neck with pendants before and behind. And the tradition of a border is affirmed by the effigy of Innocent III, recently set up by Leo XIII in the Lateran Basilica in the transept, on the right-hand side of the spectator facing the apse.

Innocent III is in a white chasuble, and the *pallium* is marked out by a gold border which separates it very distinctly from the chasuble of the same colour. A separate paper is needed to deal with the changes that the western *pallium* has undergone, whether in material, or shape, or width, or ornamentation. Pater Grisar has recently treated of several of these points at length.<sup>1</sup> He dismisses, with something like scorn, the theory of the pall having its source in the cloak of St. Peter.

In the west, the *pallium*, or in English, *pall*, had become the special mark by which the wearer was invested by the Pope with the fulness of the episcopal office, so that when the bishops of England, with the lower houses, determined to reject what was called the usurped power of the Pope,<sup>2</sup> it is not surprising to find that the pall was no longer to be asked for from Rome.

<sup>1</sup> H. Grisar, S.J., 'Das römische Pallium und die ältesten liturgischen Schärpen,' in *Festschrift zum elfhundert-jährigen Jubiläum des deutschen Campo Santo in Rom*, herausgegeben von Dr. Stephan Ehses, Freiburg in Breisgau, Herder, 1897, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The convocation of York passed with no dissentient on May 5, 1534, 'That the Bishop of Rome has not, in Scripture, any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop.' The king's proclamation, 'abolishing the usurped power of the pope,' follows on June 9. (Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, Lond., 1896, p. 251.)

Accordingly it was enacted that no person should be disturbed from an archbishoprick for lack of pall, bulls, or other things, but that the archbishop and bishops confirming the election should give the elect the pall, benedictions, and ceremonies, without obtaining any bulls or briefs from the see of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The practice of the Eastern Church was ample authority for this act. And the first archbishop of York after the breach with Rome had the pall given to him by the other archbishop of England and the confirming bishops. The pall was blessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and delivered to the Archbishop of York in the chapel at Lambeth. The form here printed has been collated with the original in Cranmer's Register (ff. 309*b* and 310) at Lambeth.

Orationes ante [V̇.] Saluum fac seruum etc. [tuum].  
 benedictionem [Ṙ.] Deus meus etc. [sperantem in  
 Pallii. [*in m.*] te].

[V̇.] Mitte ei domine etc. [auxilium  
 de sancto].

[Ṙ.] Et de Syon etc. [tueatur te].

[V̇.] Dominus vobiscum [Ṙ. Et cum  
 spiritu tuo].

Oremus.

<sup>1</sup> 25 Henry VIII, Cap. 20, in *Statutes of the Realm*, 1817, vol. iii. pp. 462 and 463.

Deus pater et pastor ecclesie triumphantis famulum tuum quem pastorem ecclesie tue militanti preesse voluisti propitius respice, da ei verbo et exemplo, Quibus preest ita proficere, vt ad illorum consortium quorum vicem gerit in terris vnacum grege sibi credito valeat feliciter peruenire per christum dominum nostrum.

Benedictio palli (*sic*).

[V̇.] Adiutorium nostrum etc. [in nomine Domini].

[R7.] Qui fecit celum etc. [et terram].

[V̇.] Sit nomen domini etc. [benedictum].

[R7.] Ex hoc etc. [nunc et usque in secula].

Oremus.

Summe vere Sacerdos ac eterne pontifex domine Iesu a quo omnis honor et potestas principium obtinet et effectum benedicere et sanctificare digneris hoc pontificalis dignitatis plenitudinis insigne, Vt quicumque tali preditos (*sic*) honoris signo in ministerio sacro ad Laudem et gloriam nominis tui eis in conspectu populi tui vsus fuerit hoc in eius digne splendeat actibus, quod premiis remuneretur eternis Qui viuus etc.

Aspergatur aqua in hac (*sic*) verba.

Ab ipso sanctificetur hoc insigne in Cuius honore instituitur, In nomine patris, etc.

Traditio pallii.

Ad honorem dei patris omnipotentis, filii et spiritus sancti, intemerateque virginis marie et totius<sup>1</sup> Celestis exercitus ac Illustrissimi et serenissimi in christo principis et domini nostri domini henrici

<sup>1</sup> Here folio 310 begins.

octauī etc. Cui soli et nulli alii obedientiam et fidelitatem debes et exhibuisti in decus ecclesie Anglicane ac metropolitice ecclesie Eboracensis tibi commisse traditum (*sic*) tibi pallium in plenitudine pontificalis dignitatis vt eo vtaris in diuinis celebrandis infra ecclesiam tuam, et alias, diebus ab antiquo vsitatis, Accipe igitur frater charissime e manibus nostris pallium hoc humeris tuis impositum summum viz. sacerdotii domini nostri Iesu christi signum per quod vndique vallatus atque munitus valeas hostis humani temptamenti viriliter resistere et vniuersas eius insidias solerter a penetralibus cordis tui diuiuo suffultus numine<sup>1</sup> procul abjicere prestante eodem domino nostro Iesu christo qui cum spiritu sancto in trinitate viuīt et regnat per omnia secula seculorum etc.

Oratio post traditionem pallii.

Deus qui de excelso Celorum habitaculo corda fidelium spiritus sancti gratia cooperante corroborando illustras, Archiepresulem (*sic*) hunc quem sanctitatis pallio decorasti, virtutum celestium robore confirma, et gratie tue superfluentis rore copiose asperga (*sic*) Vt eius exemplo pariter et documento famulos tuos Clerum et populum ei commissos iter vite ingredi [celestis] et cum eo Regni tui consocii fieri mereantur, per dominum nostrum etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the MS. there is a stroke too many for 'numine.' The scribe may have intended 'munimine,' as in a following form.

<sup>2</sup> On folio 306 is Confirmation of his election as archbishop 'in Capella siue Oratorio infra domum manerii Archiepisco-

The form opens with a few versicles and a collect, which are the same as those in the office for the enthronization of an archbishop, which has been printed by Mr. Maskell.<sup>1</sup> Then the form for the blessing of the pall itself follows. It is ushered in by a few versicles which are common enough, but the benediction itself I have been as yet unable to find elsewhere. Some of the phrases are well known, such as the opening, 'Summe vere sacerdos,' which are the first words of a long prayer often said by the priest before mass,<sup>2</sup> and attributed to St. Augustine.

The words used at the sprinkling of the pall with holy water are curiously like the words used at the blessing of incense in the mass;<sup>3</sup> but it may be observed, no incense is directed to be used with the holy water, as in the blessing of the pall at Rome.

palis Cantuariensis de Lambeth' before Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Bishop of Westminster, and George, Bishop of Winchester, 16 Jan., 1544-5.

<sup>1</sup> W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Lond. Pickering, 1847, vol. iii. p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, edited by Dr. Henderson, 1874, vol. i. p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ab ipso benedicatur [edition of 1497 has : sanctificetur] hoc incensum in cuius honore cremabitur.' (*Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-1883. Edited by F. H. Dickinson, col. 581 in the *Ordinarium Missae*.)

The delivery of the pall then takes place. The form, in its earlier part, is adapted from that in the Roman rather than from that in the English pontificals; the latter part is certainly borrowed from the English forms. The Roman form runs thus :

Ad honorem omnipotentis dei : et beate marie semper virginis : ac beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli : domini nostri pape .N. et sancte romane ecclesie : Necnon ecclesie .N. tibi commisse tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati petri sumptum : in quo est plenitudo pontificalis officii cum patriarchalis *vel* archiepiscopalis nominis appellatione : vt vtaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus : qui exprimuntur in priuilegiis ab apostolica sede concessis. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.<sup>1</sup>

The resemblance of this form to that of the first part of Cranmer's is marked. Only instead of the Pope we have the King : instead of the Church of Rome we have the Church of England : and the metropolitical Church of York is mentioned by name. The pall is still the fulness of the episcopal office, but it is no longer taken from the body of the blessed Peter. Then we pass at ' Accipe igitur frater charissime ' to the section taken from the English pontificals, which read as follows :

<sup>1</sup> *Pontificale secundum Ritus sacrosancte Romane ecclesie, Venetiis, L. A. de Giunta, 1520, fo. 42.*

Accipe pallium summi sacerdotii Domini Dei tui signum, per quod undique vallatus atque munitus, valeas hostis humani tentamentis resistere, et omnes insidias ejus a penetralibus cordis tui, divino munimine fultus, procul abjicere: præstante Domino nostro, Jesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

The days on which the Archbishop of York had been accustomed from of old to wear the pall, and which are spoken of in Cranmer's form for delivering the pall, may be seen in the part of the *Registrum Album* given to us by Dr. Henderson.<sup>2</sup>

The prayer after the delivery of the *pallium* may be found in an office for the enthronization of an archbishop, printed by Dr. Henderson from the pontifical of De Martival.<sup>3</sup> This text has some verbal variations, but it is evidently of the same stock.

Thus with the exception of the form for the blessing of the pall, the rest of the service has

<sup>1</sup> Maskell, *op. cit.*, iii. 300. We are not told what manuscript Mr. Maskell copies. It may have been the Lincoln Pontifical in the library of the University of Cambridge. (Mm. 3, 21.)

<sup>2</sup> See *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875, edited by Dr. Henderson, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 232. But the resemblance of these forms to those printed by M. Hittorp does not lie on the surface, at all events. (*De divinis Catholice Ecclesie Officiis*, Parisiis, 1610, col. 8.)

been taken from old sources. The Middle Ages had been accustomed to see the pall brought from Rome ready for use. Cranmer must have been thrown back upon his own resources for devising a form of benediction. I have been able to throw no more light upon the sources of Cranmer's service than was thrown some forty years ago, when the form was first edited by no less a scholar than a late bishop of Oxford, Dr. Stubbs.<sup>1</sup>

I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, F.S.A., whose loss we are now lamenting, the well-known authority on all matters connected with the Slavonic branch of the orthodox church, for the following notes on the blessing of the *omophorion* or pall in Russia :

The eastern bishop in vesting blesses each ornament as it is brought with the sign of the cross, and he kisses it, and then he is vested in it : while the Protodeacon says what has to be said. In the case of the *omophorion*, he says :

‘ On [Thy] shoulders, O Christ, having taken [our] lost<sup>2</sup> nature, Thou didst ascend, and didst bring it

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1860, vol. ccix. p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> The Slavonic word equals Greek *πεπλανημένην φύσιν*. One would like to get a better word than ‘lost,’ but one can only save the force of the perfect participle by a paraphrase such as ‘which had gone astray.’ Perhaps this is better. Matthew xviii. 13.

to God and the Father, alway, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.'

Nicolski, an extremely good Russian ritualist, says the following upon the subject :

' The omophorion signifies the sheep which had strayed, that is to say, the lost human race ; while the bishop, when he is robed in this vestment, bears the image of Christ the Saviour, who, as the good Shepherd, took upon His shoulders the lost sheep, and brought it to the sheep which had not strayed, that is to say, to the angels in the home of the heavenly Father (Luke xv. 4-7), and this is the reason that in ancient times the omophorion was made of lambs' wool. At the vesting of a bishop, for the omophorion the deacon says: On thy shoulders, etc. etc.' [See above.]

The taking off and putting on of the omophorion during the Liturgy corresponds exactly to this: whenever the bishop represents Christ he wears it, whenever something else represents Christ he removes it. Thus he removes it for the Epistle (when the apostle, not the bishop, is representing Christ) and the Gospel. This appears to be very ancient. It is apparently referred to in the 5th century by Isidore Pelusiota (*Ep.* i. 145) as follows :

' The bishop, representing Christ, by his very clothing shows to all that he is the imitator of that blessed and great Pastor, who willed to bear the weakness of the flock : and therefore, when at the opening of the [Book of the] Gospels, the true Pastor himself appears, the bishop immediately lays aside

the vestment of imitation, giving thereby to know of the presence of the Lord and Chief of Pastors.'

Again at the great entrance he removes it, and immediately after the Epiclesis, or consecration of the Eucharist, but assumes it again for the elevation at 'Holy things for the holy,' the fraction, and communion.

In the west, we have records of the forms of blessing, or rather of watching, the pall at Rome in the twelfth century, given us by one of the canons of the Vatican basilica as part of his own professional experience. It was quite simple. The palls, wrapped in linen, were brought down into the confession of the basilica; and a nocturn said over them, taken from the mattins of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (July 29th). This part of the service may be found in Tommasi's edition of a Vatican manuscript,<sup>1</sup> but it does not precisely correspond with the service now used, either in the Roman breviary or in the Vatican breviary. The psalms, lessons, and responds were followed by *Te decet laus*. This does not seem to be the 64th psalm, which begins with *Te decet hymnus*; or to be the Latin version of this psalm (such old versions were, and are still, used in the Vatican

<sup>1</sup> Thomassii, *Opera omnia*, Romae, 1749, edited by Vezzosi, t. iv. p. 122.

basilica) which begins *Te decet laus* instead of *hymnus*. I am told that the version of the psalter used in the Vatican basilica is the last version of the psalter written by St. Jerome. Tommasi points out that *Te decet* is a hymn : and he gives the text :

*Te decet laus, te decet hymnus, tibi gloria Deo Patri  
et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu in saecula saeculorum.  
Amen.*<sup>1</sup>

It is a Benedictine hymn, which to this present day may be found in the monastic breviaries, sung on Sundays after the gospel at Mattins. The collect *Deus qui beato Petro* may be found in the modern Mass book as the collect for the feast of St. Peter's chair at Rome (January 18th). With this collect the blessing is over, unless Mass be said next day at the high altar ; in which case the palls are put there ; and when Mass has been said, they are taken away. If there be no Mass next day, they are returned to the Pope's familiar. No special time of the year seems assigned to the service. Monday in Holy Week is spoken of as one of the days on which the palls were blessed.

It may be noticed that no hint is given of the presence of any but the canons of the Vatican

<sup>1</sup> Thomasii, *op. cit.*, t. v. p. 293 *note*. See also t. iv. p. 353.

at this blessing of the palls, nor of any special form of blessing such as that which, as we shall see, was printed by de Bralion,<sup>1</sup> or used by Cranmer. The hallowing would seem to be brought about by the palls having rested upon the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul.

Thus the pall became especially a relic from the body of the blessed Peter, like the other cloths or veils taken from the confessions of apostles.<sup>2</sup> The priestly stole was consecrated by being placed the night before the Saturday in Ember Week in the confession of St. Peter.<sup>3</sup> And when the Emperor had been crowned, the sword is given to him from the altar of St. Peter with these words: *Accipe Gladium desuper beati Petri Corpore sumptum.*<sup>4</sup>

It is an idea which we find in the very earliest times, when from St. Paul's body 'were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons.'<sup>5</sup> The same idea of a blessing being given by contact

<sup>1</sup> See Nicolas de Bralion, *Pallium Archiepiscopale*, Parisiis, Viduam Joannis Camusat, 1640, page 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, cap. v. tit. xii. Edited by I. Garner, Viennae Austriae, 1762, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> I. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Par. 1724, t. ii. p. cxxxiii. L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1889, p. 376 note.

<sup>4</sup> L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748, t. ii. col. 461.

<sup>5</sup> Acts xix. 12.

with the shrine of a saint still survives in Italy. In the year of the centenary of St. Ambrose, visitors were allowed to go down to the sarcophagus of St. Ambrose, under the high altar of the church of St. Ambrose at Milan. The guide took our handkerchiefs, laid them on the tomb of St. Ambrose for a moment, and then returned them to us.

Gregory, of Tours, speaks of the practice in his time. He says that in the sepulchre of St. Peter, under the altar, was an opening into which it was the custom to put cloths, which gained in weight, as is not at all unlikely, by this probable exposure to moisture.<sup>1</sup> The tomb is said to have been blocked up to prevent the anti-popes getting to it. Late in the sixteenth century, in 1594, the tomb and opening were rediscovered by James a Porta.<sup>2</sup> The golden cross, said to have been placed by Constantine on the tomb of the Apostles,<sup>3</sup> was recognized by Clement VIII. There is a drawing of this tomb, which shows a sort of arcosolium; in the arch is a mosaic of our Lord, blessing in the

<sup>1</sup> Gregor. Turon., *De glor. martyrum*, lib. i. cap. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Filippo Bonanni, *Numismata Summorum Pontificum Templi Vaticani*, Romanae, 1696, chap. xxiv. p. 137. See also p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. Iunii, t. vii., Parisiis et Romae, Palmé, 1867, pp. 34\* and 63\*.

Greek manner with the right hand, and holding a book with the left ; in the table of the arcosolium is a square opening.<sup>1</sup> This opening Clement VIII is said to have had sealed up with cement, and a new altar built over it.

The following description of the ceremony of watching the palls was written by a canon of St. Peter's in the twelfth century. It has been edited by Paul de Angelis, who gave the author's name as Romanus;<sup>2</sup> but the Bollandists give to him the name of Petrus Mallius :

Quod in Beati Petri Basilica tantum vigilantur Pallia, quae Dominus Papa mittit Archiepiscopis.

Et quoniam haec sacrosancta Dei, et Beati Petri Basilica est fundamentum, et caput omnium aliarum Ecclesiarum, dicente Domino : *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam* : et tu vocaberis *Cephas*, id est, Caput, quadam prerogatiua, in ea tantum vigilantur Pallia, quae Dominus Pontifex Romanus mittit Patriarchis, et Archiepiscopis per vniuersum orbem constitutis. Et inde est, quod

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Borgia, *Vaticana Confessio Beati Petri*, Romae, 1776, p. lxxvii. note. See Frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> *Basilicae Veteris Vaticanae descriptio auctore Romano eiusdem Basilicae Canonico cum notis Abbatibus Pauli de Angelis*, Romae, B. Tani, 1646, cap. iii. p. 5. See also *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. Iunii, t. vii. Parisiis et Romae, V. Palmé, 1867, p. 35\* (num. 7) and p. 104\* (num. 157). It is printed a second time on p. 104\*, and the words inserted in square brackets are taken from this second printing. These references are to the second of the two paginations with asterisks in this volume.

Legatus sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae dicit : *Accipe pallium de corpore B. Petri sumptum, in plenitudinem officii tui.* Itaque cum vigilamus Pallia, facimus solempnes vigilias in confessione Beati Petri, cantantes vigilias, quas consueuimus cantare in festo eiusdem Apostoli Et de antiqua consuetudine habemus, ad bibendum, de Confessione abundanter, optimum claretum. Qualiter debemus pannos laneos unde fiunt Pontificalia [Pallia] ad beati Petri corpus vigilare, sicut vidi ego Presbyter Romanus, huius Sacrosanctae Basilicae Canonicus, ad posteritatis memoriam scribo. Acceptis de Altari faculis, et cereis ad legendas lectiones, et orationes vigiliarum, necnon incenso ; circa sero conueniunt Canonici ad Altare S. Leonis Papae : et Presbyter Ebdomadarius accipit ipsos pannos complicatos et inuolutos in sindone, praecedentibus tam mansionariis cum incenso, et faculis accensis, quàm Canonicis, intrat ad corpus beati Petri, et ponit eos supra altare, et faculae ante altare ponuntur. Tunc Chorus, cuius est cantus, incipit antiphonam : *Si diligis me Simon Petre*, et reliqua, cum suis psalmis ; versic. *Tu es Pastor ouium* : Tres lectiones leguntur in libro Stationali : *Petrus et Ioannes ascendebant in Templum* : et cantatis duobus responsoriis, quae voluuntur de sancto Petro, deinde sequitur, *Te decet laus* : et oratio, *Deus qui beato Petro Apostolo tuo collatis clauibus.* Sic reportantur, sicut allata fuerunt. Si altero die cantatur Missa super Maiori Altare, ponantur ibi : et post completam Missam tollantur. Sin autem, reddantur misso Domini Papae. Et

dantur Canonicis, quoties has vigiliis celebrant, tres solidi prouinienses pro clareto : faculae verò Camerario Canonicorum remanent, quae de Altaris communium cum cereis, et incenso, et prouiniensibus dantur. Sic vidi tempore Domini Caelestini Tertii Papae fieri : sic scio factum per socios, et dominos meos tempore Domini Clementis Tertii Papae : sic etiam in secundo anno eiusdem [Caelestini] Pontificis, Indictione decima, mensis Martii die 30. quae fuit tunc feria secunda ante Pascha.<sup>1</sup>

If we may forget the dignity of history for a moment, it is amusing to note the zest with which the good canon tells us of the excellent wine which was served in abundance on these occasions of watching the palls. Perhaps this canon of St. Peter's was accustomed to think more of the refreshment of the body than of the mind, for his knowledge of ecclesiastical matters does not seem very complete. In his zeal for the Church of which he was a member, he forgets the metropolitan rights of St. John Lateran, when he tells us that the Vatican basilica is the foundation and head of all churches. Most ecclesiastical historians recognize the claim of the Lateran to be the mother and mistress of all churches, as the inscription on its front asserts to this day ; and his ac-

<sup>1</sup> According to the Bollandists this year would be 1192.

quaintance with the Bible does not seem very full, when he gives the interpretation of Cephas as head. The Vulgate reads differently: *Tu vocaberis Cephas: quod interpretatur Petrus*,<sup>1</sup> that is, a stone, as the Authorized Version also reads. A few pages after he tells us also that the first chair of St. Peter was at Alexandria, not, as the Roman Church usually teaches, at Antioch.<sup>2</sup>

And he notes the fees given to the chapter for the claret.<sup>3</sup> This does not seem to be connected with the sums paid to the Roman court for the pall. These would have gone to the Apostolic sub-deacons who have charge of the palls from the time that the lambs are offered at St. Agnes, on January 21st, to the day when they are given up to the metropolitans. This charge was a percentage, says Christopher Marcellus, upon the revenues of the metropolitical church in question.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Iohann. i. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xxxvii. p. 129. Is this an example of the way in which Scripture is interpreted and history written at the Court of Rome? This canon also claims that the Venerable Bede is buried in the Vatican basilica (p. 117). Most Englishmen claim that it was at Durham.

<sup>3</sup> *Provincienses*. These are referred by the Bollandists to a coin which Ducange says was struck in a town named Pruvinum (*Glossarium*, s.v. *Moneta Baronum, Campaniae Comitum*), or may the word signify merely a coin, *pour boire*?

<sup>4</sup> *Qui pallium sunt accepturi . . . componunt primum cum subdiaconis [apostolicis] nam illi ut diximus tenent pallia.*

In the time of St. Gregory the Great it is clear that money had been given for the pall. The Pope, writing to the bishop of Corinth, says it is known that formerly the pall was given only after some payment had been made ; but this being undesirable, he had called a council before the body of St. Peter, that it might be strictly forbidden to receive anything either for ordination or the pall.<sup>1</sup> It is plain, however, that by the time of Marcellus the officials of the Curia had gone back to the custom forbidden by St. Gregory, and it is possible that even as early as the time of St. Boniface they had returned to the practice.<sup>2</sup> Gatticus prints a Vatican manuscript, in which it is said that if the archbishopric be worth six thousand francs, the archbishop pays two hundred or one hundred francs. The Archbishop of Sens gave the

Qui accipiunt secundum ualorem, et taxam Ecclesie aliquando plus : aliquando minus pro centenaro. (*Rituum Ecclesiasticorum*, Christophori Marcelli, lib. i. sect. x. cap. v. Venetiis, 1516, fo. xlviii.)

<sup>1</sup> Novit fraternitas vestra, quia prius pallium nisi dato commodo non dabatur. Quod quoniam incongruum erat, facto concilio ante corpus beati Petri Apostolorum principis, tam de hoc, quam de ordinationibus aliquid accipere, sub districta interdictione vetuimus. (Vita S. Gregorii, a Iohanne diacono edita, iii. 5. in Surius, *De vitis Sanctorum*, Venetiis, 1581, t. ii. fo. 42.)

<sup>2</sup> C. J. Hefele, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, Tübingen, 1864, Bd. ii. p. 218.

Apostolic sub-deacon one hundred and thirty francs ; he of Rouen one hundred and fifty.<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of the fifteenth century we have another description of the same ceremony, by Mapheus Vegius. It is still held in the confession of St. Peter, and the mattins of St. Peter are recited ; but penitential psalms, and litanies, and other mysteries of sacred prayers are said, of which psalms, and litanies, and sacred prayers we find no great notice in the account of the twelfth century. The custom of drinking abundantly of the best wine, well spiced, had gone out.

[Pallia] Quorum consecratione, cum locus ipse, quem sub altari positum, Confessionem B. Petri appellant ; tum processionis devotio officique solennitas, maximam iure merito sanctissimamque videri facit. Nam praeter psalmos poenitentiales et litanias ac cetera sacrarum orationum mysteria, eadem etiam, quae in Apostoli Petri die festo solent, vigiliae magna cum exultatione decantatae, celebrantur. Cui accedebat aliud, quod nunc nescio qua causa, exolevit, non modicum hilaritatis et laetitiae monumentum. Nam perfectis divinis consolationibus, tum consolari corpora incipiebant ; exhibebaturque omnibus abundanter optimum vinum, optimis aromatibus medicatum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. B. Gatticus, *Acta Selecta Caeremonialia*, Romae, 1753, t. i. p. 160. Ex codice Vaticano 4735.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. Iunii, t. vii. p. 68\*. See also Petri Moretti, *Ritus dandi Presbyterium*, Romae, typ. Bernabo et Lazzarini, 1741. Pars. i. sect. v. cap. xii. p. 55.

The placing of the palls upon the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul is shortly spoken of by Marcellus, a writer who represents the practice of the Roman court about 1488.<sup>1</sup> The saying of Mattins while the palls rested upon the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul are all the rites mentioned.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century, there appears to be no further information about the hallowing of the palls. In the interval, there has grown up a new custom, an addition to that which went before, of blessing the palls by a form of words as well as by leaving them for a time on the tomb of SS. Peter and Paul. Benedict XIV seems to attribute this to the change made in the shape of the high altar of St. Peter's as well as to the disappearance of the custom of saying mattins at night.<sup>2</sup> This rite is recorded by Nicholas de Bralion, a priest of the French Oratory, who published first in 1640 a tract on the pall, at the end of which he gives in full a form of blessing taken from an 'ancient book' belonging to the Vatican basilica.<sup>3</sup> A bishop

<sup>1</sup> Chr. Marcellus, *op. cit.*, lib. i. sect. x. cap. v. Marcellus seems to have published under his own name the work of Augustine Patrick Piccolomini, which was presented to Innocent VIII in 1488. (Mabillon, *Mus. Italic.*, ii. 584.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sanctissimi Domini nostri Benedicti papae XIV. Bullarium*, t. ii., Romae, 1754, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Pallium Archiepiscopale*, authore Nicolao de Bralion, Parisiis, apud viduam Ioannis Cumasat, et Petrum Le Petit,

has now become the necessary minister of this benediction ; but mattins are still an essential part of the rite ; and the bishop who is to bless the palls must be present at the mattins. Instead of being an ordinary day, as it was in the twelfth century, it must now be a principal feast ; but it does not seem certain what the mattins were, though the officiating bishop is told to begin mattins with *O Lord, open thou our lips*, as on the day of the apostles. Mattins seem to be said before the confession itself, as in the twelfth century, in the area of the confession in front of the metal grate which guards the confession.

Benedictio Palliorum quae fit in Basilica sancti Petri de urbe, in signum praeeminentiae principalis hoc ordine perficitur.<sup>1</sup>

1648, p. 181. In the fourth chapter he says that the authors who have written on the pall have said nothing distinct on the rite of its blessing.

<sup>1</sup> N. de Bralion, *Pallium Archiepiscopale*, Parisiis Apud Viduara Cumasat et Petrum le Petit, 1648, p. 181.

The following translation of the rubric has been given me by a friend. The translation of a prayer needs a special rare gift, and the attempt has not been made beyond the first words :

‘ The order of the Blessing of Palls, which is performed in the church of St. Peter at Rome, as a mark of its chief pre-eminence.

‘ When the Apostolic Sub-Deacons, who have the care of palls, wish that some palls be blessed, their Dean must first ask the Vicar of the aforesaid church whether he be willing

*Primum cum Subdiaconi Apostolici ad quos spectat cura Palliorum volunt aliqua Pallia Benedici, ipsorum Decanus debet petere etiam à Vicario dictae Basilicae, ut velit ea benedicere, nam id ad ipsum pertinet si est Episcopus, vel ad aliquem Episcopum ex Canonicis dictae Basilicae, et si nullus eorum hanc*

to bless them (for it is his duty if he be a bishop) or some bishop among the canons of the aforesaid church. If none of them be willing, the aforesaid Dean must provide some bishop of the [Roman] Court to perform the blessing. They must agree on a day for the blessing. This day must be one of the solemn feasts, and the said Dean must tell the altarist thereof. On the day appointed for this purpose, at the hour agreed (having already bidden some of the beneficed laymen and beneficed clerks of the aforesaid church to say mattins) he shall prepare a table like an altar in the midst of the place called the confession of Blessed Peter, near the metal grate, which guards the said confession, under the high altar, and he shall cover the table with a fair linen cloth, and on it place two candlesticks with their lights. He shall also place a stole for him that is to bless the palls, with a white cope, a plain mitre, and the order of blessing. At the right-hand side of the table or thereabouts he shall direct that there be a processional cross, a censer with coals, a ship with incense, and a spoon ; also a holy water vat and sprinkler ; and near the balustrade of the chapel, a lectern with a book for mattins, and a bench for him that is to bless the palls. When all has been thus arranged, after compline in the said church, all those bidden shall assemble at the aforesaid place, and the aforesaid Dean, with an assistant, shall commit to the aforesaid altarist the palls according to the number, for blessing, on the high altar of St. Peter. The altarist, in the presence of the bishop who is to bless the palls, receives them in a silver basin ; then the bishop, with the dean and assistant aforesaid, descends into the confession, where the preparations have been made for the blessing, and puts on over his rochet the stole and cope, and says secretly, " Our Father." Then he begins in a loud voice, " O Lord, open thou our lips," for mattins, as on the

*Benedictionem facere vult, tunc praedictus Diaconus<sup>1</sup> providet de aliquo Episcopo Curiae qui illam faciat, et conveniri solet inter eos de die faciendae Benedictionis, qui debet esse unus ex festis solemnibus quod idem Diaconus<sup>1</sup> intimat Altaristae. Die ad hoc praestituto tempore suo (prius tamen invitatis aliquibus ex Beneficiatis et Clericis Beneficiatis dictae Basilicae pro dicendis vigiliis) in medio loci qui est ante Confessionem Beati Petri iuxta gratem<sup>2</sup> ex metallo, quae ibi sub altari maiori munit dictam confessionem, parat mensam in modum altaris, et eam mappa munda cooperit, et desuper ponit duo candelabra cum luminaribus et pro benedicente stolam, pluviale album, mitram simplicem, et librum Benedictionis, et ad dexteram mensae vel ibi prope facit ut sint crux processionalis, Thurribulum cum prunis, navicula cum incenso et cocleari, ac vas cum aqua Benedicta, et aspersorio; item prope Cappellae cancellos pulpitem cum libro pro dicendis*

feast of the apostles; the rest continue, and when the invitatory and hymn have been said, he sits down, his mitre is placed on his head, and the altarist carries away from the altar the aforesaid basin with the palls, in the confession, and puts them in the middle of the table. Mattins being ended, the bishop rises and goes to the middle of the table, and having laid aside his mitre, says the following prayer with its versicles:

℣. Our help is in the name of the Lord.

℞. Who hath made heaven and earth.

℣. The Lord be with you.

℞. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

‘O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, the source, foundation, and cause of all sanctifications, &c.’

<sup>1</sup> Thus, apparently in error for *Decanus*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for *gratum* or *cratem*.

*vigiliis, et sedes pro benedicente. Quibus omnibus sic paratis, et complectorio<sup>1</sup> † in dicta Basilica finito, omnes invitati congregantur in praedictum locum, et praefatus Decanus cum socio assignat per numerum Altaristae praedicto Pallia super altare maius sancti Petri ut benedicantur, qui Altarista praesente Episcopo Benedictionem facturo recipit ea in lance argentea ; deinde Episcopus cum Decano et socio praedicto descendit ad confessionem, ubi paratum est pro Benedictione, et ibi recipit super Rochettum stolam et pluviale, et dicto secrete Pater noster, incipit intelligibili voce pro vigiliis. Domine labia mea aperies<sup>2</sup> &c. ut in die Apostolorum, et caeteri prosequuntur,<sup>3</sup> et dicto invitatorio et hymno sedet, et imponitur ei mitra, et Altarista ex altari deportat praedictam lancem cum Palliis in confessionem et ponit eam in medio super mensam, Finitis autem vigiliis surgens Episcopus accedit in medium ante mensam et deposita mitra dicit sequentem orationem cum versiculis.*

*℣. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*

*R. Qui fecit coelum et terram.*

*℣. Dominus vobiscum.*

*R. Et cum spiritu tuo.*

*Oremus.*

*Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, omnium sanctificationum origo fundamentum et causa, omnis auctoritatis cumulus, incomprehensae plenitudo scientiae, ineffabilis virtutis infusor gubernator, et rector, qui per sanctos tuos Patriarchas*

<sup>1</sup> Thus, for *completorio*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for *aperies*.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, for *prosequuntur*.

Prophetas et Reges tua es magnalia operatus, quibus secuturi populi deterosa enigmatum caligine scripturarum in novam proficerent creaturam, et qui licet ex Abraham, Isaac et Iacob tibi semen elegisses, quo ex tribu Iuda Iesus Christus Coaeternus tibi Filius, Deus et Dominus noster ex Maria semper virgine humanae naturam carnis assumeret, Primum tamen tam Pontificii in Sacerdotes, quàm gubernationis in populum ex Pharaonis captivitate Aegyptiaca eruendum, per transitum Maris rubri Moysi et Aaron in Sacerdotibus commisisti, ut translationem inde Regni, Pontificii, legisque per aquam baptismatis regenerandis populis mystice designares; tandemque eundem tui et hominum Mediatorem transmisisti summum ei tribuens secundum ordinem Melchisedech sacerdotium in aeternum, qui duodecim sibi elegit, quos Apostolos nominavit, et horum Simonem Ioannis aliis praeficiendo in principem et Cephā seu Petrum participatione sui nominis (quia petra erat Christus) specialiter nominando, ei in pascendis Ovibus custodiaque ovilis Dominici, commisit Christiani populi Principatum. Pro quo te Domine singularius exoravit ut non defficeret fides eius, sed aliquando conversus suos fratres in fundamento verae fidei confirmaret, tantaque post sancti tui spiritus receptionem, te cooperante superveniens sanctificationis virtus superabundavit in eo, ut sicut Apostolorum nobis referunt Actus, infirmos ac debiles in grabatis ponerent in plateis ut eosdem saltem Beatissimi Petri umbra contingeret, qui à te procul dubio ab omnibus suis infirmitatibus sanabantur.

Secutis deinde temporibus sanctorum. Patrum te Domine inspirante antiquissimae mos transmissa vel tradita<sup>1</sup> . . . plenitudinem Pontificalis tribuerent potestatis, ac pro consecrationibus altarium Basilicarumque per universum orbem terrarum pro devotione fidelium mitterentur. Cumque supra hoc a quibusdam minus credulis fuisset aliquando dubitatum ; sanctissimi tibi Domino Deo nostri grati Pontifices Leo, atque Gregorius, huius sacrae Apostolicae summaeque sedis à te directi Pastores, coram universo populo qui adstabat pannos huiusmodi pupugerunt, ex quibus vivus protinus sanguis, singulari duplicato miraculo, te Domine operante profluxit. Unde nos licet horum imitatores immeriti, in iis mysteriis sacris, quae actu peragimus, de tuarum multitudine miserationum, propter Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum tuorum preces et merita plurimum praesumamus, tantorum Patrum factum et ordinem prosequentes : clementiam tamen tuam suppliciter exoramus, quatenus augmentum, substantionem, ac vinculum largifluae charitatis sanctae Matris Ecclesiae sponsae tuae, quod in his nostris meritis non valemus ; tuae suppleat superabundantia pietatis : tuae nihilominus maiestati quantum pos-

<sup>1</sup> Omissa sunt hic <sup>â</sup> quaedam verba, quibus ut coniicio notatur in Originali antiqua missio Palliorum, simul et pannorum sive velorum quorundam quae Summi Pontifices contactu primum Sacrarum Reliquiarum aliquomodo sanctificata mittere solebant loco ipsarum fidelibus qui ab ipsis aliquas reliquias petebant, de qua consuetudine mentio fit in vita Sancti Leonis Magni et in vita Sancti Gregorii etiam Magni dicti. [*In margin of p. 187.*]

sumus humillime supplicantes, quatenus super haec baltea, seu Pallia ex pura lana, quae supra sacratissimum Apostoli tui Petri priscatoris hominum et aetherii ianitoris corpus, more prisco, debita cum devotione posuimus, et quae ipsius aliorumque Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum et Virginum, in praesenti Basilica Venerabiliter quiescentium, ex quibus seges quasi tota tuae pullulavit Ecclesiae, merita mirabiliter protestantur, largissimam tuae Bene ✠ dictionis, sancti ✠ ficationis, Pontificalis ✠ potestatis praeeminentiae ✠ ac dignitatis virtutem pleniorque gratiam misericorditer digneris infundere, ut sancti tui Spiritus cooperante virtute, quicumque iuxta eiusdem sanctae Ecclesiae tuae formam, ipsorum aliquod ritè portaverit, ususque fuerit, in ordine Primatiae facias<sup>1</sup> eum annis esse multiplicem, corporis robore salubri vigentem, et ad senectutem optatam pervenire felicem. Sit ei Domine fiducia apud te gratiam obtinendi pro populo, quam Aaron in tabernaculo, Eliseus in fluvio, Ezechias in lecto, Zacharias vetulus impetravit in templo. Sit ei Domine regendi authoritas, qualem Iosue suscepit in castris, Gedeon sumpsit in praeliis, Petrus accepit in clave, et Paulus est usus in dogmate.<sup>1a</sup> <sup>2</sup> Visita eum Domine sicut visitasti Moysen in Rubo, Iesum nave in praelio Gedeonem in agro, et Samuelem in templo: Et illa cum benedi ✠ ctione sydereā, ac

<sup>1</sup> to <sup>1a</sup> Muratori, *op. cit.*, t. ii. col. 457.

<sup>2</sup> to <sup>2a</sup> This passage, with others down to the end, resembles something in the coronation of the emperor. (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, Venet., 1748, t. ii. col. 461.)

sapientiae ✠ tuae rore perfunde quam Beatus David in Psalterio, et Salomon filius eius te remunerante, percepit de coelo. Sit ei hoc contra Daemonum acies lorica, in adversis galea patientiae, in prosperis humilitas, et in protectionem sanctitatis plenariae clypeus sempiternus.<sup>2a</sup> Et<sup>1</sup> ita Domine ipsorum Pastorum Primatumque tuorum cura tuo proficiat in ovili, sicut Isaac profecit in fruge, et Iacob est dilatatus in Grege.<sup>1a</sup> Per eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit, et regnat in unitate eiusdem Spiritus sancti Deus : Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

This is the first appearance of the holy water vat and sprinkler, though it is not said when they and the incense were used in the blessing of the palls. Some writers have remarked that none of the holy oils is used.

What is the age of this form ? It was printed in 1640, so that it cannot be later than this date. On the other hand, it would seem to be unknown to Marcellus, printing in 1516. Is there any internal evidence of its age ? It is clearly a cento at the end : for this is borrowed from different parts of the service for the coronation of the emperor. The early part bears a resemblance in structure to other benedictory forms which may be found in the Roman Pontifical,

<sup>1</sup> to <sup>1a</sup> Muratori, *op. cit.*, t. ii. col. 460.

but without any direct borrowing. The allusion in the middle of the form to the sick that were laid in the streets so that the shadow of St. Peter might fall on some, and to the veils sent for the consecration of churches from the body of St. Peter, seems conceived more in the spirit of a sermon than of a prayer. From the marginal note made by de Bralion, it may be conjectured that the form was first used for the blessing of veils and cloths to be sent abroad, and afterwards adapted to the hallowing of palls. If the suspicion of Benedict XIV be accepted, the form may be as late as the time of Urban VIII.

If this form were first brought into use for the blessing of the palls after 1516, we approach very near to the year 1534, in which Cranmer used his form in England for the blessing of the pall for the Archbishop of York. It thus becomes a question whether Cranmer did not anticipate the court of Rome in providing a verbal form for the blessing of the pall; a question which cannot be answered until the age of the form printed by de Bralion be ascertained. It is curious enough that it should be possible that such a question be asked.

Another recension of this rubric was printed

by Peter Moretti a hundred years after the appearance of Nicholas de Bralion's tract.<sup>1</sup> It has also been given by Catalani<sup>2</sup> following the *errata* supplied by Moretti at the end of his work. These have been printed as footnotes below. Moretti heads his Appendix III with these words :

RITUS BENEDICENDI PALLIA. *Ex autographo.*  
 Illustriss. ac Reverendiss. Capitulo sacros.  
 basilicae Vaticanae Placidus Eustachius Ghez-  
 zius, olim eiusdem basilicae, nunc verò sacri  
 Palatii Apostolici Ceremoniarius, perpetuum hoc  
 grati, et obsequentis animi pignus D.D.D. an.  
 1722.

*Benedictio palliorum facienda in SS. basilica  
 Vaticana in pervigilio SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli  
 in signum praeeminentiae principalis ab antiquo codice  
 desumpta, et ad recentiore[m] praxim redacta.*

Cum Subdiaconi Apostolici, ad quos spectat cura Palliorum, opus habent aliqua Pallia benedici, ipsorum Decanus debet petere a Vicario dictae basilicae, an velit ea benedicere ; nam hoc ad ipsum pertinet, si est Episcopus, vel ad aliquem Episcopum ex Canonicis dictae basilicae : praefatusque Decanus

<sup>1</sup> *Ritus dandi Presbyterium Papae, Cardinalibus . . . a Petro Moretto . . . investigatus, Romae typis Bernabò et Lazzarini, 1741. Appendix III. Ritus benedicendi Pallia, p. 337.*

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Catalani, *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, Parisiis, A. Jouby, 1860, t. i. p. 337.

notum id faciet Canonico Altaristae, ad quem spectat cura executionis huiusmodi benedictionis, qui hora praestituta in medio areae marmoreae, quae est ante Confessionem B. Petri iuxta cratem ex metallo, qua ibi sub altari maiori munitur dicta Confessio, parare facit mensam in modum altaris cum tali proportionem, ut faciliter circumvallari possit, et eam mappa munda cooperire facit, et desuper ponere duo candelabra cum luminaribus accensis, et pro benedictione stolam, pluviale album, mitram aurifrigiatam, librum benedictionis, instrumentum pro candela, thuribulum sine prunis, naviculam cum cochleari, et incenso, vas cum aqua benedicta, et aspersorium, necnon ante abacum praedictum, congrua servata distantia, sedem pro Episcopo super tapete, et in alio congruenti loco, sex pluvialia alba pro Assistantibus. Dum in choro cantatur Completorium, desumuntur Pallia in sacristia ex manibus supradicti Decani in lance argentea, velo albo, et lucido cooperta, a Canonico Altarista induto<sup>1</sup> rocchetto, et cotta, medio inter duos Magistros ceremoniarum, coadiuvantes ipsum in sustinendo pondere Palliorum, quae deferuntur per eundem in lance cooperta, ut supra. Cum pervenerit ante altare maius, insimul ascendunt, et collocant lancem super altare in medio, et, facta in plano reverentia altari, et choro, discedunt. Expleto Completorio, ante dictum altare maius solemniter decantantur vigiliae per Episcopum

<sup>1</sup> Ac per eundem deportantur super altare maius hoc ordine. Praecedunt duo Custodes cum baculis, deinde Canonici Altarista indutus : *errata of Moretti and Catalani*.

benedicentem, qui necessario debet esse praesens dictis Vigiliis. Expleto invitatorio, et hymno, postquam chorus sederit, incoepto primo psalmo, unus ex Magistris ceremoniarum, invitatis Canonico Altarista, sex Beneficiatis, et totidem Clericis beneficiatis, ducit illos, facta reverentia in medio Episcopo, et choro, ad altare, et, cum pervenerint omnes prope infimum altaris gradum linea aequali, Canonicus Altarista cum solis duobus senioribus Beneficiatis ascendit ad altare, accipit lancem cum Palliis, adiuvantibus dictis duobus senioribus Beneficiatis,<sup>1</sup> et eam ante Confessionem sequenti ordine portat. Praecedunt duo Custodes cum baculis, deinde sex Clerici beneficiati, servata anterioritate, postea Canonicus Altarista inter duos seniores Beneficiatos, sequentibus reliquis quatuor Beneficiatis, quorum seniores sint proximiores Canonico. Cum pervenerint ante Confessionem, omnes se collocant in linea aequali ante illam, et Canonicus Altarista ponit immediate dictam lancem super mensam inter candelabra, et, facta ab omnibus genuflexione, separatim discedunt. Completis in choro vigiliis, dataque ab Episcopo in altari benedictione, proceditur ad benedictionem palliorum hoc processionali ordine. Custodes de more, Crux cum Acolythis, Cantores, Seminarium, reliqui de choro, qui adesse velint, Assistente parati cum Episcopo, et ministris inservientibus. Descendunt omnes ante Confessionem,<sup>2</sup> et mensam,

<sup>1</sup> Assistentibus: *read errata of Moretti and Catalani for Senioribus Beneficiatis.*

<sup>2</sup> Minister de Cruce cum Acolythis se collocabunt ante Confessionem *add errata of Moretti and Catalani.*

ita ut respiciant faciem Episcopi. Cantores in uno angulo, Seminarium in altero, omnes alii de choro hinc inde. Episcopus ibit<sup>1</sup> immediate ante sedem cum ministris paratis hinc inde, et, deposita mitra, omnes insimul facient genuflexionem, reassumptaque ab Episcopo mitra, sedebit. Omnes Assistentes, depositis rubeis, accipiunt pluvialia alba, et similiter Episcopus, depositis rubeis paramentis, accipit alba cum mitra, et sedebit. Omnibus sic paratis, et assistentibus praedictis Decano, et Canonico Altarista ad latera dictae mensae, Magister ceremoniarum discooperit totaliter Pallia, et Episcopus, deposita mitra, surgit, et legit benedictionem Palliorum, sustinente librum uno e Sacristis chori, et instrumentum de lumine uno ex Assistentibus paratis, respondentibus Cantoribus ad *Ÿ*. et ad conclusionem Orationis; qua completa, Episcopus iterum sedet, accipit mitram, ponit, et benedicit incensum de more, et deposita mitra, accedit prope mensam, aspergit Pallia aqua benedicta in modum Crucis, et ter adolet incenso; quo facto, accipit mitram, et interim Ceremoniarii extendunt velum super Pallia, et Episcopus surgens accipit ambabus manibus, adiuvantibus duobus Assistentibus paratis, lancem cum Palliis, et deponit eam super corpora SS. Apostolorum, ibique remanent per totam sequentem diem, relictæ crate ferrea aperta ratione sollemnitatis. Deposita deinde mitra ab Episcopo, omnes genuflectunt, et processionaliter discedunt.

Post Completorium sequentis diei discedit e

<sup>1</sup> Ibi: Catalani.

sacristia Canonicus Altarista cum Magistris ceremoniarum, et Custodibus, accedit ad Confessionem, ibique facta brevi oratione, et genuflexione, accipit lancem Palliorum e corporibus SS. Apostolorum, et discoopertis aliquantulum a Magistro ceremoniarum reportantur in Sacrorum custodiam, ponuntur super altare cappellae Reliquiarum, et numerata coram Magistro ceremoniarum sacri Palatii Apostolici clauduntur in capsula serico ornata, clavis traditur dicto Apostolicarum ceremoniarum Magistro a Canonico Altarista, et capsula ponitur, et asservata inter alias Reliquias.

Si supradicta benedictio facienda erit de<sup>1</sup> mane in festo SS. Apostolorum, deferenda erunt Pallia modo, quo supra, antequam incipiantur vigiliae, supra illud altare, ubi fiet chorus, sive sit altare maius, sive chori, idemque observandum, si facienda sit benedictio in aliis diebus ; dummodo sint ex solemnioribus, quamvis fiat officium per Canonicum hebdomadarium, sed cum assistentia in choro Episcopi benedicturi Pallia. In hoc casu, quando vigiliae non cantentur pontificaliter, expletis Laudibus, Episcopus, comitantibus duobus Beneficiatis, seu Clericis beneficiatis, ceremoniarum Magistro<sup>2</sup> cum quinque Acolythis, et Custodibus, procedunt ad Confessionem, breviter orant ; deinde Episcopus sedet, duo assistentes Beneficiati, seu Clerici beneficiati accipiunt pluvialia alba, Acolythi crucem, et candelabra, Episcopus induitur per Assistentes paramentis pontificalibus albis, et mitra aurifrigiata,

<sup>1</sup> *Omit* Catalani.

<sup>2</sup> Magistros : Catalani.

et fit benedictio, ut supra. Collocatis deinde super corpora Apostolorum Palliis, ibique relictis, clauditur crates ferrea, et, deposita mitra, Episcopus,<sup>1</sup> omnes genuflectunt, et reassumpta, vadit ad sedem, deponit paramenta, sicut et Assistentes pluvialia, et, facta genuflexione, omnes separatim discedunt, et non fit processio.

Sequenti die post Completorium reportantur Pallia et fiunt reliqua, ut supra.

BENEDICTIO PALLIORUM.

Episcopus sine mitra surgit, et manibus iunctis dicit :

℣. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R7. Qui fecit coelum et terram.

℣. Dominus vobiscum.

R7. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus,  
&c.<sup>2</sup>

From this recension of the rubric it will be seen that the palls were sprinkled with holy water and censed at the end of the long prayer of benediction.

Within very few years more changes are made, almost revolutionary in character, and these by the hand of one of the most learned

<sup>1</sup> Et : *add errata of Moretti and Catalani.*

<sup>2</sup> Neither Moretti nor Catalani gives more than these opening words.

ritualists that has sat in the Roman chair. In 1748 Benedict XIV abolishes the saying of mattins as part of the blessing of the palls, restricts the ceremony to the eve of St. Peter's day, and declares that it is to be performed only by the Roman Pontiff himself, or his deputy, immediately after the first vespers of the feast. Thus the old vigils are discarded; and the blessing takes place, not from the placing of the palls on the tomb of the Apostles while the chapter chant their mattins, but from the words pronounced by the Pope himself; for although the palls are brought to the confession of St. Peter, they are not blessed until the pope have said over them the appointed prayer, and as soon as he has said these words they are spoken of as blessed.<sup>1</sup>

These changes were made by a bull of Bene-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Aidan Gasquet (now a Cardinal) does not seem to recognise the greatness of the changes made by Benedict XIV when he tells us that the pall 'has always been blessed on the festival of his [St. Peter's] martyrdom.' (*The Pall from the Body of the Blessed Peter*, St. Anselm's Society, about 1892, p. 26.) At first the palls may have been blessed on any day, and it was not till the time of Nicholas de Bralion that the ceremony was limited to a principal feast: or a bishop necessary for the blessing (see above, p. 133.) All inferences drawn, too, from the language of the blessing are worthless as evidences of the teaching of antiquity; for the form expresses nothing more than the ideas prevalent in the Roman Court in the eighteenth century.

dict XIV, beginning with the words *Rerum ecclesiasticarum*. In it the Pope, after describing the practices used in the Middle Ages, speaks of the customs in his own time at the blessing of the palls. The palls about to be blessed were put into a golden basin by the canon of the Vatican, called the altarist, and accompanied by twelve beneficed clerks, were carried by him to the confession of St. Peter. There they were placed upon a table covered with a handsome cloth, and set between two lighted candles. Afterwards the bishop who was to bless the palls went down into the confession, sprinkled the palls with holy water, censed them, and recited over them certain benedictions. The palls thus blessed remained upon the body of the Apostle for the whole of the octave of the feast. When the octave was over they were taken away by the curators of the vestry, inclosed in a box covered with scarlet silk, and kept in the oratory of the vestry, where the relics of the saints are kept. The key of the box was kept by the first master of the pontifical ceremonies.

The pope tells us that these customs had prevailed until a few years ago, and that he himself has seen them carried out when a canon of

the Vatican. But in 1725 Benedict XIII had himself blessed the palls on February 22nd, the feast of the chair of St. Peter at Antioch.<sup>1</sup> Two years before the publication of the present bull, Benedict XIV had himself begun to bless the palls on the eve of SS. Peter and Paul, according to the rite now published, which he orders to be hereafter observed.

The Pope also ordains that a number of palls, judged to be sufficient for the needs of the Church, shall be taken to the Confession of St. Peter early on the morning of St. Peter's eve, by the altarist, and there placed as described above. After vespers they shall be blessed by the Pope himself, or at least by the cardinal in his place. It may be noticed that the sprinkling with holy water and censuring take place before the verbal blessings described by Benedict XIV, not after, as in Moretti's recension.

When the blessing is over, the hallowed palls are to be put into a silver-gilt box, and are to remain in the confession, close to the body of St. Peter. The key of the box is, however, to

<sup>1</sup> Ciampini notes (*De sacris aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis*, Romae, 1693, cap. iv. sectio iii. de confessione D. Petri, p. 50) that the palls, after being laid on the body of St. Peter, 'suetis piisque caeremoniis Summus Pontifex consecrabat.'

be kept by the first master of the pontifical ceremonies as heretofore.

The bull ends with the following form :

*Formula igitur Precum ad benedicenda Pallia in vigilia Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri, et Pauli, talis est. Post Vesperas, Pontifex, seu Cardinalis, qui illius vice in Pontificalibus officio adstiterit, ipsa Pallia ter aspergit aqua benedicta, dicendo Antiphonam Asperges me &c. ac ter Incenso adolet; deinde dicit :*

Ÿ. Adiutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini.

R7. Qui fecit coelum, et terram.

Ÿ. Dominus vobiscum.

R7. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Deus, Pastor aeternae Animarum, qui eas Ovium nomine designatas, per Iesum Christum Filium tuum, Beato Petro Apostolo, eiusque Successoribus, boni Pastoris typo regendas commisisti, atque ipsis sacrarum Vestium symbolis Pastoralis curae documenta significari voluisti; effunde per ministerium nostrum super haec Pallia de Beatorum Apostolorum Principum Altari sumpta, copiosam Benedictionis ☩ et sanctificationis ☩ tuae gratiam, ut quam mystice representant Pastoralis officii plenitudinem, atque excellentiam, pleno quoque operentur effectu. Humilitatis nostrae preces benignus excipe, atque eorundem Apostolorum meritis, et suffragiis concede, ut quicumque ea, te largiente, gestaverit,

intelligat se Ovium tuarum Pastorem, atque in opere exhibeat, quod signatur in nomine. Sit boni magnique illius imitator Pastoris, qui errantem Ovem humeris suis impositam caeteris adunavit, pro quibus animam posuit. Sit eius exemplo in custodia Gregis sibi commissi sollicitus, sit vigil, sit circumspectus, ne qua Ovis in morsus incidat, fraudesque Luporum. Sit disciplinae zelo districtus, quod perierat requirens, quod alienum reducens, quod confractum alligans, quod pingue, et forte custodiens. Videat humeris suis impositam Crucem, quam Filius tuus proposito sibi gaudio sustinere non recusavit; sitque illi crucifixus Mundus, et ipse Mundo. Tollat iniectum collo suo Evangelicum iugum, sitque ei ita leve ac suave, ut in via mandatorum tuorum caeteris exemplo, et observatione praecurrat. Sit ei hoc symbolum unitatis, et cum Apostolica Sede communionis perfectae tessera, sit charitatis vinculum, sit Divinae haereditatis funiculus, sit aeternae securitatis pignus, ut in die adventus, et revelationis Magni Dei, Pastorumque Principis Iesu Christi, cum Ovibus sibi creditis stola potiatur immortalitatis, et gloria. Per eundem &c.<sup>1</sup>

The following account of the blessing of the Roman pall is taken from a modern edition of

<sup>1</sup> *Sanctissimi Domini nostri Benedicti papae XIV Bularium tomas secundus*, Venetiis, 1788, p. 225. The letter is dated 12th August, 1748, and published on the 26th of the same month.

Catalani's *Pontificale Romanum*.<sup>1</sup> The account is enclosed in square brackets, as if not belonging to the original text of Catalani.

'We may add here the decrees of Benedict XIV about the blessing of the palls on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul [June 29], which up to our times are faithfully followed, even as we have seen with our own eyes. Every year this sacred duty is performed (and it is done after the first vespers of the solemn feast) by the Roman pontiff, and if he by chance be absent, by that cardinal who has just said pontifical vespers. The palls are therefore brought to the pontiff, who remains in his chair, by one of the auditors of the causes of the Apostolic Palace, who wears the ornaments of a subdeacon, and is accompanied on the right and left by two of his colleagues among the auditors, and followed by the advocates of the consistorial court of the pontiff. This duty is laid upon these auditors because to the dean of their college are delivered the lambs from whose fleeces the sacred palls are woven. The advocates of the consistorial court are present, because their duty is to ask of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> *Pontificale Romanum* . . . auctore Iosepho Catalano, novo editio, titulus xiv. de pallio, Parisiis, Mequignon, 1850, vol. i. p. 390.

pontiff the granting of the pall to each metropolitan. Returning therefore from the confession of the chief of the Apostles, where the palls, not yet blessed, have been laid, they stand before the pontiff, who presently rising from his chair, sprinkles the palls with holy water, censes, and afterwards blesses them with the following prayer written by Benedict XIV himself, in true liturgical style.' The text of the blessing then follows.<sup>1</sup>

The source of the wool whence the palls are woven is at present certain lambs offered at the altar of the basilica of St. Agnes, outside the walls, on January 21, St. Agnes' day.<sup>2</sup> This custom can be traced back to the time of Marcellus.<sup>3</sup> Cassander indeed tells us that formerly certain white lambs without spot were fed by the nuns of the monastery of St. Andrew, close to the church of St. Marcellus, at Rome. On Low Sunday, while *Agnus Dei* was sung, these lambs were made to go round the altar of St. Peter,<sup>4</sup> doubtless that of the Vatican Basilica.

<sup>1</sup> It is printed immediately above, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> The forms used on this day at this ceremony may be found in *Cérémonial des Evêques commenté . . . par un Evêque suffragant*, Paris, J. Lecoffre, 1856, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> G. Cassander, *Opera*, Parisiis, 1616, p. 143. In Glossary after *Ordo Romanus*.

These nuns also wove the palls from the wool of the lambs, much as, he says in the margin, the nuns of St. Agnes now do. In the twelfth century the prior of St. Lawrence, of the Sacred Palace, had to make the pall for the pope with his own hands.<sup>1</sup>

The place in which the palls have been kept after being blessed is subject to some variation in the course of history. In the twelfth century they were given over to the officer of the papal household as soon as they were blessed. And even in the time of Marcellus, the Apostolic Sub-Deacons only kept them in some decent place.<sup>2</sup> But de Bralion says that the palls, after being left one night upon the tomb of St. Peter, were placed in a box, and kept upon the chair of St. Peter, which, when de Bralion was at Rome, was preserved in the chapel of the greater sacristy, but now is in the chapel which Urban VIII dedicated.<sup>3</sup> In Moretti's account, the palls, after lying twenty-four hours upon the tomb of the Apostles, were taken to the chapel of the Relics, and placed upon the altar there. After being numbered in the presence of the

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi de' sommi pontefici*, Roma, 1802, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> N. de Bralion, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Master of the Ceremonies of the Apostolic Palace, they were locked up in a box adorned with silk, the keys of the box given to the Master of the Ceremonies by the altarist, and the box itself containing the palls kept amongst the other relics.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have a distinct recognition of the idea that the pall is a relic, as it is kept among the other relics of the Basilica. But Benedict XIV changes this ; and orders the palls, after being blessed, to remain in the confession of St. Peter, close to the tomb of the Apostles. The key, however, is to be kept by the Master of the Ceremonies, as before.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 146.

<sup>2</sup> See page 149.

*An Early Sequence of Liturgical Colours,  
hitherto but little known, apparently  
following the Use of the Crusaders'  
Patriarchal Church in Jerusalem in  
the Twelfth Century*<sup>1</sup>

IT has been said by many that the first writer who gives any complete account of the colours used for the frontals of the altars and the vestments of the ministers is Innocent III. The treatise, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, was written before the author's election as Pope, and therefore before the year 1198. But there is evidence of the existence of a sequence of colours earlier than this. There are some scattered notices to which I have alluded in my paper, 'On the History of the Liturgical Colours,'<sup>2</sup> of particular colours being assigned to particular days in the tenth and eleventh centuries. And I have also come across an

<sup>1</sup> To my knowledge first edited by Josephus Maria Giovene in *Kalendaria vetera MSS.*, Neapoli, typ. Viduai Realis et Filiorum, 1828, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See the first volume of the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*.

almost complete sequence of colours belonging to the early twelfth century.

When the Crusaders established themselves in Jerusalem after its conquest in 1099, they set up, as every one knows, a Latin Church, just as they set up a feudal kingdom. The head of this Church was the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, and his patriarchal Church was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, served by Augustinian or Black Canons.

Nothing is more likely than that, as soon as the Patriarch and the canons were settled in Jerusalem, they drew up a particular liturgy of their own, just as every diocese in France and England had a special liturgy and rites of its own. More than sixty years ago Giovene had noticed a manuscript of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, which belonged to the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Barletta. This MS. was clearly a copy of the Liturgy used at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem during the Latin domination. This domination lasted from 1100 to 1187, so that the Liturgy would have been compiled between these two dates, and there is internal evidence which shows that it was put together early in the twelfth century.

In his *Kalendaria Vetera MSS.* (Neapoli, 1828), Giovene gives large extracts from this interesting manuscript. They differ but little from the liturgical forms in use in the Middle Ages in the dioceses of Western Christendom ; and it seems impossible to resist the inference that the Black Canons must have brought their Liturgy with them into the Holy Land.

It is very remarkable that the Liturgy should contain a tolerably full account of the colours used by these canons. It is very rare to find much about colours in manuscript missals, and it may be noticed that the account given by Innocent III is not in a liturgical book, but in a treatise on the ceremonies of the mass in vogue in his time. He merely describes the ceremonies which were customary in the Church of Rome some time before his election as Pope, and the book, of course, has no authority beyond that of a contemporary observer. He cannot in any way be said to have promulgated these ceremonies.

The Jerusalem sequence of colours is as follows :

Haec sunt vestimenta quibus solent indui Canonici Dominici sepulchri in festivis diebus. In primis dominica die Adventus Domini, et per totum Ad-

ventum, nisi festivitas occurrerit, casulas et cappas cericas (sericas?) nigras. Sabbato (*sic*) quando pronuntiatur *missus est Gabriel angelus* de melioribus vestimentis casulam et tunicam.

In vigilia natalis Domini quando incipiuntur laudes debent habere archichori cappas cericas nigras. Casulam, tunicam, et dalmaticam nigram cum albis paratis ad missam. Ad vespas pannus niger ante altare: Prior et archichori cappas nigras ad matutinum similiter. Sed Evangelium *Liber generationis* cantatur cum melioribus vestimentis deauratis. Missa de nocte cum . . . Casula quae vocatur *dracho* et aliis nigris vestimentis tamen melioribus omnibusque sunt illius coloris. Ad missam in mane cooperiatur altare panno rubeo super alios duos et Sacerdos diaconus et subdiaconus, et archichori vestimentis rubeis omnibus deauratis vel fulgentibus auro. Ad magnam missam ante altare optimus pannus super alios tres et omnes habeant alba vestimenta et ad vespas similiter usque ad antiphonam beati Stephani. In festo beati Stephani vestimentis rubeis omnes usque ad antiphonam beati Johannis Apostoli, albis vestimentis omnes usque ad commemorationem sanctorum innocentium et tunc cum rubeis vestimentis.

In circumcisione domini nostri festivitas sicut in nocte nativitatis cum pannis nigris.

In Epiphania domini ante altare pannus celestis, et omnia alia vestimenta sint eiusdem coloris, tamen evangelium *factum est autem* cantetur cum vestimentis deauratis.

Omnes sollemnitates beate Marie cum pannis et vestibus nigris. A Dominica septuagesime usque in passione domini sicuti et adventu cum vestimentis nigris.

A Dominica passionis usque ad Sabbatum pasche . . . diaconus et subdiaconus casulas excepto dominico die in ramis palmarum et ad evangelium et prophetias ubi habet dalmaticam . . . casula rubea tantum et ad crucem representandam cappis rubeis.

In Sabbato pasche ante altare pannus rubeus usque ad Kirie eleison et tunc ponatur albus pannus et de cetero usque in ascensione Domini cum albis vestibibus omnes nisi aliqua festivitas occurrerit, et in ascensione domini ante altare pannus celestis et omnia vestimenta eiusdem coloris sicut in Epiphania domini.

In sancto die pentecostes pannus rubeus ante altare et omnes induuntur vestibibus rubeis et in die trinitatis similiter. Et in nativitate beati Johannis cum vestibibus albis et pannus albus ante altare et per totas octavas. Et in festivitate Apostolorum Petri, et Pauli cum panno rubeo et vestimentis eiusdem coloris. Et in festivitate sanctae crucis in inventione, et in exaltatione cum panno rubeo, et vestibibus rubeis et crux sancta super altare ad missam. In festo S. Michaelis cum panno celesti et omnibus vestimentis eiusdem coloris sicuti in Epiphania et ascensione. Festivitas omnium sanctorum omnium colorum pannus altaris, albus et rubeus deauratus.

It will be seen that the colour for the last fortnight of Lent is here wanting, but it is given incidentally in a rubric for Passion Sunday at p. 34 of Giovene, note *rubicundis infulis*, and for Palm Sunday also on p. 34 of Giovene for Mass, *casulis coccineis*, that is, red; and this colour might be expected from analogy with many dioceses of Western Christendom.

The first point that strikes the ritualist in looking over this sequence is the strange fact that black is assigned to feasts of the Blessed Virgin. Now in all the liturgical books that I have come across, white is invariably given as the colour of Blessed Mary. To this there is no exception; but it appears that by a special licence the Spanish dioceses, and also some churches of Naples, are allowed to wear blue for feasts of the B. V. M.<sup>1</sup>

Berrisch tells us also that in the diocese of Köln (Colen in English, Cologne in French) blue is not looked upon as a substitute for violet, but is allowed to be used instead of white, especially on feasts of the B. V. M.<sup>2</sup> It is called Mutter-Gottes-Farbe. (Colour of the Mother of God.)

<sup>1</sup> Nic. Gühr, *Das heilige Messopfer*, 3<sup>te</sup> Auflage, 1884, p. 282 note 3. Daniel Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, 1849, ij. 259.

<sup>2</sup> E. Berrisch, *Die Stola*, Köln, Rommerskirchen, 1867, p. 69 note.

Now, from a liturgical point of view, black, violet, and blue are the same, that is they may be used one in place of the other. Thus the Jerusalem sequence throws light on the custom in Naples and Spain, and no doubt the use of black for the Blessed Virgin will be thought to be an allusion to the *nigra sum sed formosa* of the Canticles.

It has been said that black and violet are identical from a liturgical point of view, and therefore the use of black for Advent at Jerusalem corresponds with the ordinary violet of to-day. It may also be noted that black is used throughout Christmas Eve, through the first vespers of Christmas, and at mattins on Christmas Day. The first mass of Christmas at the Holy Sepulchre was also in black, the second in red, the third and chief mass in white. This was a common medieval custom. It is spoken of by Durandus, and was practised at Paris and Lyons even in the nineteenth century. The same three colours were also used in succession at Easter, one being changed for the other at the end of each lesson at Mattins.

For the Circumcision red is by no means an uncommon colour, but I have never before seen black ordered, though at Mentz an analogous

colour, blue, was used. Blue for the Epiphany is also very rare. I only know of one instance where a like colour is used, and that is violet at Soissons.

Black from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday and red thence to Easter is so common that it needs no comment, and the same may be said of white at Easter and red at Whitsuntide. But for blue at Ascensiontide I have found no precedent. Blue was used at Wells and Westminster as well as at Jerusalem on Michaelmas Day, and divers colours for All Hallows were not unknown. The ferial colour at Jerusalem is not given. It is very likely that it was red, if we may infer so much from its likeness to other rites which have red for their ferial colour.

## THE LENTEN VEIL IN SPAIN AND SICILY TO-DAY

### *Survival of the Use in Sicily of the Lenten Veil hung between the Quire and Presbytery in the First Decade of the Twentieth Century*<sup>1</sup>

THE Church Antiquaries tell us that in England in the Middle Ages there was hung a great veil between the quire and the presbytery during the season of Lent, that is from the first Sunday in Lent to Easter, and that traces of this custom continue into the reign of Elizabeth.

With the nineteenth-century revival of medieval customs the great Lenten veil has not been brought into much use in England. There is one instance that I know of at the Church of St. Mary, Southtown, Great Yarmouth, where it was in use in 1903, but I understand that it is no longer retained.

<sup>1</sup> Notes taken in the Lent of 1908, published in *Church Times*, March 1909, p. 354.

I first saw the Lenten veil at Toledo in the March of 1884. It was drawn before the high altar in the Cathedral Church, and it hung a little to the west of the footpace. At the elevation, during the recital of the Institution, it was drawn up for a moment to allow the people to see the Host and Chalice, but only for a moment. The veil did not quite reach the ground, though it very nearly did, for one could just see the bottoms of the albs or cassocks of the ministers moving about in the presbytery.

The next place where I saw the Lenten veil was in the church of St. Paul at Syracuse in the March of 1908. There the veil was in the usual place, before the altar; but it hung from the roof and did not reach half-way to the ground. It had the image of Blessed Mary worked on it. My companion thought it could not be the Lenten veil, and as the Cathedral Church and another large church were the only two churches that we visited we did not make out whether there was another instance at Syracuse of such a Lenten veil. But when we came to Palermo there could be no doubt that the Lenten veil had survived. We found it beginning at the Duomo and appearing in the churches of the regulars, even in that of the Jesuits. In most

of the Sicilian churches where there is a quire at all it is in the Northern fashion, before the altar, not, as so often to be noticed in Italy and the South of France, behind the altar, and thus the Sicilian Lenten veil can be seen in its proper place between quire and altar. It is usually so short that a man standing in the nave can see quite distinctly the altar, and altar candlesticks, but not the candles. The veil being often of a thin translucent tissue like gauze allowed the light of the candles to shine through.

We were told that the veil was put up for Lent and taken down on Easter Even. Many of the smaller churches in Palermo had the Lenten veil. It was always, where I noticed, hung from the roof, but it did not ever come to the ground, for in those cases where it would have touched the floor from its greater length if it had been let down, it had been looped up, and in one or two cases a semicircular or rectangular piece had been cut out, clearly to enable the worshipper to see the altar. From these alterations we may notice the importance still attached by modern Roman practice to the sight of the Host and chalice at Mass.

The veil was commonly of a bluish colour

and had worked on it a plain cross or a representation of the brazen serpent of Moses, or a Pietà, or Jonah being thrown overboard, or a rood, Mary, and John.

The Duomo at Cefalù showed a Lenten veil hung in the middle of the quire, but in this case the veil was hung at a place where newer quire stalls projecting into the presbytery, as we too often see in England, set up a disparagement of the presbytery and magnifying of the quire, and it would seem that the Lenten veil continued to be hung in the old place after the quire had been lengthened. The veil was dated 1770, and a Descent from the Cross was worked upon it.

Mr. Edmund Bishop in his famous tract on the *Genius of the Roman Rite*, has pointed out what far-reaching effects followed one very simple solitary change in the ceremonial of the Mass: to wit 'the addition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the single act of the elevation of the host and chalice.' Amongst these effects we may certainly count the shortening of the Lenten veil just described. The purpose of the Lenten veil was to hide the altar from sight during the season of Lent, and therefore also the celebration of the Eucharist.

The same object in fact we are told by our leading authorities was the purpose of the veils which hung from the baldaquin of the basilican altar in primitive times ; but the mediæval elevation of the Sacrament at the moment of the recital of the Institution, if it were to be of profit to the worshipper, had to be visible to him. And thus a shortening or lifting up of the Lenten veil followed in the wake of the introduction of the elevation of the Host, a necessary consequence of the obligation of the worshipper to see the Host raised above the celebrant's head. This was a great break with primitive ceremonial in more than one direction. If the altar were shrouded in the veils of the ciborium, the primitive idea must have been to conceal the priest and his actions during the Eucharistic Sacrifice, while the mediæval idea must have been to display what was done at the altar by the priest and ministers.

It has been asserted by high authority that the mediæval idea is the aim of the Book of Common Prayer. 'The tenor of the Common Prayer is openness,'<sup>1</sup> is a dictum expressed in

<sup>1</sup> In the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. *Read and others v. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, London, Macmillan, 1890, p. 50.

a judgment delivered in a Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1890. This may be the case, but openness, if by that we mean that the acts of the celebrant were visible to all the congregation, was not the note of the primitive Eucharist if we follow our best authorities. The practice of the Orthodox Eastern Church is the direct opposite of openness. All that is done at the Holy Table is concealed from view until the time of Communion, and the practice of the Eastern Church doubtless represents to us a tradition from very early times.

My companion visited Trapani while I was at Palermo, and he reported on his return that out of eight churches there were six at least that had Lenten veils. Usually they were hitched up high from the ground and did not appear to have anything remarkable worked on them. In one church the veil seemed to be of the consistency of a Persian carpet. Not indeed blue but of a dark blackish-brown colour, not stretching across the width of the church but hung low down, reminding one of a sheet or tablecloth hung out to dry.

In conclusion it may be noted how repugnant to the liturgical evidence is the theory that the rise of the doctrine of transubstantiation caused

the building of quire screens. The doctrine of transubstantiation led to the practice of elevating the Host and chalice at what were considered the words of consecration ; and the sight of the Host and chalice became the essential part of the attendance on Mass. Veils, quire screens and all other hindrances to seeing the priest at the altar would be removed, just in fact as we have seen done abroad in many churches where the quire screens have been ruthlessly destroyed. The shortening of the Lenten Sicilian veil which has been so much altered that its original purpose of hiding the altar from sight has been wholly lost is another result of the introduction of the practice of the elevation of the Host and chalice at the supposed moment of consecration.

*The Carrying in Procession in Church of  
England Services of Lighted Candles  
and Torches*

IN 1899 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Dr. William Temple and Dr. MacLagan, held what was called a *Hearing*, in which they dealt with the liturgical use of incense in the Church of England and the carrying of lights in procession. They decided that the use of incense in the public worship and as part of that worship is not at present enjoined or permitted by the law of the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> They also requested the clergy to discontinue what the law of the Church of England does not permit, the carrying of lights in procession.<sup>2</sup>

A few instances will now be given from contemporary records of royal funerals, in which the choir, carrying lighted candles, accompanied the procession of the funeral directed in the Book of Common Prayer in the Burial Service. The instances are mainly taken from the seven-

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishops, *On the Lawfulness of the Liturgical Use of Incense and the Carrying of Lights in Procession*. London, Macmillan, 1899, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

teenth and eighteenth centuries. At these royal funerals it may be remarked that the details were ordered in some cases so expressly stated by the earl-marshal following an order in council, or they represent at least the personal wishes of the sovereign.

The documents, whether manuscript or printed, quoted in this chapter are drawn from those now existing in the British Museum.

A brief account of his late Maiestie King Charles the Second his sickness . . . together with the proceeding to his interment in Westminster Abbey Saturday 14 February 1684-5.

After a full account of the order of the procession from the Painted Chamber to the west door of the Abbey Church (Add. MS. 38141, Fo. 62) we read :

At the entrance within the Church the Dean and Prebends attended by the choire in their habits all having wax candles lighted and Books in their [hands] . . . an anthem and so proceeded before it [the body] into King Henry the Seventh's chappell.

#### [QUEEN ANNE'S FUNERAL]

State Papers Domestic, George I, Bundle I.

Extract from the Chapter books of the Heralds' College relative to the preparation for the Funeral of Queen Anne.

TUESDAY, 17 AUGUST, 1714.

Ordered that the Steward cause to be provided necessary Flambeaux and Lights for the removal of the Queen's Body from Kensington to the Prince's Chamber [Westminster].

ADD. MS. 6309, Fo. 38.

The Ceremonial Proceeding to a private interment of her late most excellent Majesty Queen Caroline of blessed memory to Westminster Abbey [as appointed to be printed by the Earl of Effingham, Earl Marshall by virtue of an order in Council].

At the entrance within the Church the Dean and Prebendaries in their Copes, attended by the choir all having wax tapers in their hands, are to receive the Royal Body with an anthem and are to fall into the Procession just before Norroy King of Arms and so are to proceed singing into King Henry the seventh's chapel &c.

[From the *Gentleman's Magazine*.]

The historical Chronicle of April 1751, p. 65, in the account of the funeral of Frederick Prince of Wales at night Saturday 13th of April states that at the Abbey Church door the dean and prebends and choir and the king's scholars met the corpse and fell into the procession before the officers of arms 'with wax tapers in their hands and properly habited.'

The fact that these funerals were often by night does not destroy the value of the evidence of the carrying of lights in liturgical procession. Whether lights be used to lessen the darkness or only to give dignity to the rite need not be discussed.

The carrying of lights in the funeral procession was not confined to royal funerals. We read that Mrs. Mead, the mother-in-law of Jack Wilkes, was attended to the grave by 116 men carrying lights.<sup>1</sup>

The custom was in existence before the Restoration, for we find Bishop Andrewes in his answer to Cardinal Perron approving of torches at the burial of the dead.<sup>2</sup>

Some of those amongst us who are historically minded may be inclined to wish that the Archbishops had given more consideration to the question put before them. For, if this opinion can be sustained that the law of the Church of England does not permit the carrying of lights in procession,<sup>3</sup> it will follow that

<sup>1</sup> Annual Register, 1769, January 14, p. 67, Chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, *Minor Works*, Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1854, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> The Archbishops, *On the Lawfulness of the Liturgical Use of Incense and the Carrying of Lights in Procession*. London, Macmillan, 1899, p. 14.

the Dean and Chapter of Westminster or the Dean and Chapter of Windsor broke the law every time that they carried wax lights in the liturgical processions of the funerals of the Royal Family. And what is more: these Church dignitaries were only following the ceremonial directions of an Order in Council; or at least the personal commands of the sovereign.

The Archbishops' inclination to accept the Italian word *fuochi* as meaning incense has not been allowed by any Italian scholar whom I have consulted.

Lights carried in the hands of the ministers of the altar appear to be the most ancient use of lights in the Church service.

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